

Francis Butler THE
HISTORY
OF THE *Chales Sumner*
SABBATH. *Nov. '73*

IN TWO BOOKES.

BY
PET. HEYLYN.

The second Edition, revised.

DEUT. 32. 7.

Remember the dayes of old; consider the yeeres of many Ge-
nerations: aske thy Father, and hee will shew thee; thy
Elders, and they will tell thee.

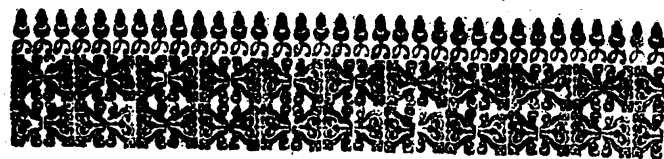


LONDON,
Printed for *Henry Seile*, and are to bee sold at the
Signe of the Tygers-head in Saint Pauls
Church-yard. 1636.

To the right ^{noble} and his very good Lord
Thomas Viscount Wentworth
Ld Deputie of his ^{most} Realm
of Ireland: the Author
Pet. Heylyn presents
himselfe, and his per-
formance in this
Argument.

Sum 117

1874 April 28.
Summer Request.



TO THE MOST
HIGH AND MIGHTIE
PRINCE,

CHARLES,

By the Grace of God, King of Great Brit-
taine, France, and Ireland, Defender of
the Faith, &c.

Most dread Sovereigne,



Our Majesties most
Christian care, to
suppresse those Ri-
gours, which some, in
maintenance of their
Sabbath Doctrines,
had pressed upon this
Church in these lat-
ter dayes; justly deserves to be recorded amongst
the principall Monuments of your zeale and
pietie. Of the two great and publike Enemies of
Gods holy Worship, although Prophanenesse,

A 2.

isa.

THE EPISTLE

in it selfe, be the more offensive; yet Superstition is more spreading, and more quicke of growth. In such a Church as this, so settled in a constant practice of Religious Offices, and so confirmed by godly Canons, for the performance of the same: there was no feare, that ever the Lords Day, (the Day appointed by Gods Church for his publike service) would have beene over-runne by the prophane neglect of any pious duties, on that day required. Rather the danger was, lest by the violent torrent of some mens affections, it might have beene overflowne by those Superstitions; wherewith, in imitation of the Iewes, they began to charge it. Alreadie they had made it farre more burthensome, to their Christian Brethren, than was the Sabbath to the Israelites, by the Law of MOSES. Nor know wee where they would have stayed, had not your Majestie beene pleased, out of a tender care of the Churches safetie, to give a checke to their proceedings: in licensing on that day, those lawfull Pastimes, which some, without authoritie from Gods Word, or from the practice of Gods Church, had of late restrained. Yet so it is, your Majesties most pious, and most Christian purpose, hath not
found

DEDICATORIE.

found answerable entertainment: especially amongst those men, who have so long dreamt of a Sabbath day, that now they will not be perswaded, that it is a Dreame. For the awakening of the which, and their reduction to more sound and sensible counsailes, (next to my dutie to Gods Church, and your sacred Majestie) have I applyed my selfe to compose this Story. Wherein I doubt not but to shew them, how much they have deceived both themselves and others, in making the old Iewish Sabbath, of equall age and observation with the Law of Nature: and preaching their new Sabbath Doctrines in the Church of Christ, with which the Church hath no acquaintance. Wherein I doubt not but to shew them, that by their obstinate resolution, not to make publication of your Majesties pleasure, they tacitely condemne, not onely all the Fathers of the primitive times, the learned Writers of all Ages, many most godly Kings and Princes of the former dayes, and not few Councils of chiefe note, and of Faith unquestionable: but even all states of Men, Nations, and Churches, at this present, whom they most esteeme. This makes your Majesties interest so particular in this present Historie,
A 3 *that*

THE EPISTLE, &c.

that were I not obliged unto your Majestie in any neerer bond, than that of every common Subject; it could not be devoted unto any other, with so just propriety. But being it is the Worke of your Majesties servant, and in part, fashioned at those times, which by your Majesties leave, were borrowed from attendance on your sacred Person; your Majestie hath also all the rights unto it, of a Lord, and Master. So, that according to that Maxime of the Civill Lawes, Quodcunque per servum acquiritur, id domino acquirit suo; your Majestie hath as absolute power to dispose thereof, as of the Author: who is,

Dread Sovereigne,

Your Majesties,

most obedient Subject,

and

most faithfull Servant,

PET. HEYLIN.

Instit. lib. 1.
tit. 8. § 1.



A PREFACE

To them, who being themselves mistaken, have misguided others, in these new Doctrines of the Sabbath.



Not out of any humour or desire of being in action, or that I love to have my hands in any of those publike quarrels, wherewith our peace hath beene disturbed; but that posteritie might not say, we have beene wanting, for our parts, to your information, and the direction of Gods people in the wayes of truth; have I adventured on this Story. A Story which shall represent unto you the constant practice of Gods Church in the present busines, from the Creation to these daies: that so you may the better see, how you are gone astray from the paths of truth, and tendries of Antiquity, and from the present judgement of all Men and Churches. The Arguments whereto you trust, and upon seeming strength whereof you have beene hitherto emboldned, to presse these Sabbatharian Doctrines upon the consciences of poore people, I purpose not to meddle with in this Discourse. They have beene elsewhere thoroughly canvassed, and all those seeming strengths beate downe,

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downe, by which you were your selves misguid-
ed, and by the which you have since wrought
on the affections of unlearned men, or such at
least, who judged not of them by their weight,
but by their numbers. But where you give it
out, as in *matter of fact*, how that the *Sabbath* was
ordained by *God* in *Paradise*, and kept accord-
ly by all the *Patriarkes*, before *Moses* time; or
otherwise ingraft by *Nature* in the soule of man,
and so in use also amongst the *Gentiles*: in that,
I have adventured to let men see, that you are
very much mistaken, and tell us things directly
contrary unto *truth of Story*. Next, where it is the
ground-work of all your building, that the
Commandment of the *Sabbath*, is *morall*, *naturall*,
and *perpetuall*; as punctually to be observed, as
any other of the first or second Table: I doubt
not but it will appeare by this following *History*,
that it was never so esteemed of by the *Jewes*
themselves; no not when as the observation of
the same, was most severely pressed upon them
by the *Law* and *Prophets*, nor when the day was
made most burdensome unto them, by the *Scribes*
and *Pharisees*. Lastly, whereas you make the
Lords day to be an institution of our Savior *Christ*,
confirmed by the continuall usage of the holy
Apostles, and both by him and them imposed, as
a perpetuall ordinance, on the *Christian Church*;
making your selves believe, that so it was obser-
ved in the times before; as you have taught us to
observe it in these latter dayes: I have made ma-
nifest to the world, that there is no such matter

to

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to be found at all, either in any Writings of the
Apostles, or Monument of true *Antiquitie*, or in the
practice of the middle or the present *Churches*:
What said I, of the present *Churches*? so I said
indeed; and doubt not, but it will appeare so in
this following *Storie*: the present *Churches*, all of
them, both *Greeke* and *Latine*, together with the
Protestants, of what name soever, being farre diffe-
rent, both in their *Doctrine* and their *practice*, from
these new conceptions. And here I cannot chuse
but note, That whereas those who first did set on
foot these *Doctrines*, in all their other *practises* to
subvert this *Church*, did beare themselves conti-
nually on the authoritie of *Calvin*, and the exam-
ple of those *Churches*, which came most neere unto
the Plat-forme of *Geneva*: in these their *Sabbath*-
speculations, they had not onely none to follow;
but they found *Calvin*, and *Geneva*, and those other
Churches, directly contrarie unto them. How ever
in all other matters, they cryed up *Calvin* and his
Writings, making his *Bookes* the very *Canon*, to which
both *Discipline* and *Doctrine* was to be conformed: *Hooker in his*
yet, *hic Magister non tenetur*, here, by his leave, they
would forsake him, and leave him fairely to him-
selfe; that they themselves might also have the
glory of a new invention.

For you, my Brethren, and beloved in our Lord
and Saviour, as I doe willingly beleeve, that you
have entertain'd these *Tenets*, upon *mis-perswasion*;
not out of any *ill intentions* to the *Church*, your
Mother; and that it is an *errour* in your *judgements*
onely, not of your *affections*: so, upon that *believe*,
have

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have I spared no pains, as much as in me is, to remove that *error*, and rectifie what is amisse in your opinion. I hope you are not of those men, *Quos non persuadebit, etiamsi persuaserit*, who either hate to be reformed; or have so farre espoused a quarrell, that neither *truth* nor *reason* can divorce them from it. Nor would I gladly you should be of their resolutions, *Qui volunt id verum esse quod credunt, nolunt id credere quod verum est*; who are more apt to thinke all true which themselves beleieve, than be perswaded to beleieve such things as are true indeed. In confidence whereof, as I was first induced to compose this *Historie*; so, in continuance of those hopes, I have presumed to addresse it to you, to tender it to your perusall, and to submit it to your censure: that, if you are not better furnished, you may learne from hence, that you have trusted more unto other men, than you had just reason. It is my chiefe endeavour, as it is my prayer, that possibly I may behold *Ierusalem in prosperitie, all my life long*. Nor doubt I, by the grace of God, to reduce some of you at the least, to such conformitie with the *practice* of the *Catholike Church*; that even your hands may also labour in the advancement and promotion of that full *prosperitie*, which I so desire. This that I may the better doe, I shall present you, as I said, with the true *Storie* of the *Sabbath*: and therein lay before your eyes, both what the *Doctrine* was, and what the *practice*, of all former times; and how it stands in both respects, with all *Gods Churches*, at this present. First, for the *Sabbath*,

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Sabbath, I shall shew you, that it was not instituted by the Lord in *Paradise*; nor naturally imprinted in the *soule* of man; nor ever kept by any of the *ancient Fathers*, before *Moses* time: and this, not generally said, and no more but so; but proved particularly and successively, in a continued descent of *times* and *men*. Next, that being given unto the *Jewes* by *Moses*, it was not so observed or reckoned of, as any of the *Morall Precepts*; but sometimes kept; and sometimes not; according as mens private businesses, or the necessities of the State might give way unto it: and finally, was for ever abrogated, with the other *Ceremonies*, at the destruction of the *Temple*. As for the *Gentiles* all this while, it shall hereby appeare, that they tooke no more notice of it, (except a little, at the latter end of the *Jewish State*) than to deride both it, and all them that kept it. Then, for the *Lords day*, that it was not instituted by our Saviour Christ, commanded by the *Apostles*, or ordained first by any other *authoritie*, than the *voluntarie consecration* of it by the *Church*, to *Religious uses*: and being consecrated to those uses, was not advanced to that esteeme, which it now enjoyes, but *leisurely* and by *degrees*; partly, by the *Edicts* of *secular Princes*; partly, by *Canons* of particular *Councils*; and finally, by the *Decretals* of severall *Popes*, and *Orders* of inferiour *Prelates*: and being so advanced; is *subject* still, as many Protestant *Doctors* say, to the *Authoritie* of the *Church*, to be retained, or changed, as the *Church* thinkes fit. Finally, that in all *Ages* heretofore, and in all *Churches*

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Churches at this present, it neither was nor is esteemed of as a *Sabbath day*, nor reckned of so neere a kinne to the former *Sabbath*: but that at all such leisure times, as were not destinate by the Church to Gods publike service; men might apply their minds, and bestow their thoughts, either about their busineses, or upon their pleasures, such as are lawfull in themselves, and not prohibited by those Powers, under which they lived. Which shewed and manifestly proved unto you, I doubt not, but those *Paper-walls*, which have beene raysted heretofore to defend these *Doctrines*, how faire soever they may seeme to the outward eye, and whatsoever colours have beene laid upon them; will in the end appeare unto you to be but *Paper-walls* indeed: some beaten downe by the report onely of those many *Canons*, which have successively beene mounted in the Church of God; either to fortifie the *Lords day*, which it selfe did institute, or to cast downe those *Jewish* fancies, which some had laboured to restore.

Such passages as occurred concerning *England*, I purposely have deferred till the two last Chapters, that you may looke upon the actions of our *Ancestours* with a clearer eye: both those who lived at the first planting of *Religion*; and those who had so great an hand, in the reforming of the same. And yet not looke upon them onely, but by comparing your *new Doctrines* with those which were delivered in the former times; your *severe practice*, with the *innocent libertie* which they used amongst them: you may the better see your errors,

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errours, and what strange incense you have offered in the Church of God. A way, in which I have the rather made choise to walke, that by the practice of the Church in generall, you may the better judge of those Texts of Scripture, which seeme to you to speake in the behalfe of that *new Divinitie*, which you have preached unto the people: and by the practice of this Church particularly, it may with greater ease be shewed you, that you did never sucke these *Doctrines* from your Mothers breasts. A Church, I dare be bold to say it, than which, there is not any in the *Christian world*, wherein the *Lords day* is observed with more due solemnitie; nor that observance better countenanced by godly *Lawes* and *Constitutions*; nor any one which walkes an even and more equall way, 'twixt *Superstition* and *Prophanenesse*, than this most flourishing Church of *England*; how-ever s^hee be thought, by you, deficient in so great a matter.

It is an observation and a rule in Law, that *custome is the best interpreter of a doubtfull statute*; and wee are lesson'd thereupon, to cast our eyes, in all such questionable matters, unto the practice of the state in the selfe-same case. *Si de interpretatione De legib. & lon- legis queritur, imprimis inspiciendum est, quo jure sa consuet.* *civitas retro, in hujusmodi casibus, usa fuit: Consuetudo enim optima interpretatio legis est.* If you submit unto this rule, and stand unto the *Plea* which you oft have made: I verily perswade my selfe, that you will quickly finde your errour; and that withall you will discover, how to abet a new and dangerous

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dangerous *Doctrines*, you have deserted the whole practise of the *Christian Church*, which for the space of 1600. yeeres, hath been embraced and followed by all godly men. These are the hopes which we project unto our selves. The cause of this our undertaking, was your *information*; and the chiefe end we aime at is your *reformation*: Your selves, my Brethren, and your good, if I may procure it, are the occasion and the *recompence* of these poore endeavors: *pretiumq; & causa laboris*, in the Poets language.

Nor would I, you should thinke it any blemish to your reputation, should you desert a cause, which with so vehement affections you have erst maintained: or that the world would censure you of too deepe a folly, should you *retract*, what you have either taught or written, in the times before. Rather the world and all good men, shall praise both your *integrity*, and *ingenuity*, in that you thinke it no disparagement to yeeld the better unto *truth*, whensoever you find it. Being men, conceive it not impossible, but that you may be in an *error*; and having erred thinke it your greatest *victory*, that you are conquered by the *truth*: which being mighty will *prevaile*, and either here or elsewhere, enforce all of us to confesse the great powers thereof. Saint *Austin* and the *Cardinall*, two as great *Clerkes* as almost any in their times, have herein shewed the way unto you; one in his *Retractions*, the other in his *Recognitions*: nor did it ever turne unto their disgrace. Therefore abandoning all such

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such fond conceits, as enemies unto the *Truth*, which I trust you seek, and above all things wish to finde: let me beseech you to possesse your *soules* with *desire of knowledge*; and that you would not shut your eyes, against the *tendrie* of those *truths*, which either here or else-where are presented to you, for your *information*. Which that you may the better doe, I doe adjure you in the name, and for the sake of *Iesus Christ*, to lay aside all *prejudice*, which possibly you may be possessed withall, either in reference to the *Argument*, or unto the *Author*: and to peruse this following *Story*, with as much singlenesse of heart, and desire of truth, and invocation of *Gods Spirit* to finde out the same; as was by me used in the writing of it. It is your welfare which I aime at, as before was said; your restitution to your functions, and reconciliation to the *Church*, from which you are at point of falling: that wee with you, and you with us, laying aside those jealousies and distrusts, which commonly attend on divided *minds*; may joyne our hearts and hands together for the advancement of *Gods Honour*, and the *Churches peace*. And God even our owne God, shall give us his blessing.

For others which shall reade this *Storie*, whether by you *misguided*, or yet left entire; I doe desire them to take notice, that there is none so much a stranger to good *Arts* and *Learning*, whom in this case and kind of writing, I dare not trust with the full cognizance of the cause herein related. In *points of Law*, when as the matter seemes to

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to be above the wit of common persons; or otherwise is so involved and intricate, that there hath beene no *Precedent* thereof in former times; it is put off to a *demurrer*, and argued by my *Lords the Judges*, with their best maturitie of deliberation. But in a *matter of fact*, we put our selves upon an ordinarie *Iurie*, not doubting, if the evidence prove faire, the *Witnesses* of faith unquestioned, and the *Records* without suspicion of imposture, but they will doe their *conscience*, and finde for *Plaintiffe* or *Defendant*, as the cause appears. So in the businesse now in hand, that part thereof which consists most of *argument*, and strength of *disputation*, in the examining of those reasons which *Pro* or *Con* have been alledged; are by me left to be discussed and weighed by them, who either by their place are called, or by their *learning* are enabled to so great a businesse. But for the *point of practice*, which is *matter of fact*, how long it was, before the *sabbath* was commanded, and how it was observed, being once commanded; how the *Lords day* hath stood in the *Christian Church*, by what *authority* first instituted, in what kinde regarded: these things are offered to the judgement and consideration of the meanest Reader. No man that is to be returned on the present *Iury*, but may be able to give up his *verdict*, touching the title now in question; unlesse hee come with *passion*, and so will not heare, or else with *prejudice*, and so will not value the evidence which is produced for his information. For my part, I shall deale ingenuously, as the cause

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cause requires, as of sworne counsell to the truth; not using any of the mysteries or Arts of pleading, but as the holy *Fathers* of the *Church*, the learned *Writers* of all Ages, the most renowned *Divines* of these latter times, and finally as the publicke Monuments and Records of most *Nations christned* have furnished me in this enquirie. What these, or any of them have herein either said, or done, or otherwise left upon the Register for our direction, I shall lay downe in order, in their severall times; either the times in which they lived, or whereof they writ: that so we may the better see the whole succession both of the Doctrine, and the practice of *Gods Church*, in the present businesse. And this with all integritie and sincere proceeding, not making use of any *Author*, who hath beene probably suspected of *fraud* or *forgerie*; nor dealing otherwise in this search, than as becomes a man who aimes at nothing more than *Gods* publike service, and the conducting of *Gods* people in the wayes of truth. This is the summe of what I had to say in this present *Preface*; beseeching *God*, the *God* of Truth, yea, the Truth it selfe, to give us all a right understanding, and a good will to doe thereafter.



SYLLABVS CAPITVM.

PART. I.

CHAP. I.

That the Sabbath was not instituted in the beginning of the world.

(1) The entrance to the Worke in hand. (2) That those words Gen. 2. And God blessed the seventh day, &c. are there delivered as by way of Anticipation. (3) Anticipations in the Scripture confessed by them, who denie it here. (4) Anticipations of the same nature not strange in Scripture. (5) No Law imposed by God, on Adam, touching the keeping of the Sabbath. (6) The Sabbath not ingraft by nature, in the soule of man. (7) The greatest Advocates for the Sabbath, denie it to be any part of the law of nature. (8) Of the moralitie and perfection supposed to be in the number of seven, by some learned men. (9) That other numbers in the confession of the same learned men, particularly the first, third, and fourth, are both as morall and as perfect, as the seventh. (10) The like is proved of the sixth, eighth, and tenth, and of other numbers. (11) The Scriptures, not more favourable to the number of seven, than they are to others. (12) Great caution to be used by those, who love to recreate themselves in the mysteries of numbers.

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CHAP. II.

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(1) The Sonnes of Noah did not keepe the Sabbath. (2) The Sabbath could not have beene kept, in the dispersion of Noahs Sonnes, had it beene commanded. (3) Diversitie of Longitudes and Latitudes, must of necessitie make a variation in the Sabbath. (4) Melchisedech, Heber, Lot, did not keepe the Sabbath. (5) Of Abraham and his Sonnes, that they kept not the Sabbath. (6) That Abraham did not keepe the Sabbath, in the confession of the Jewes. (7) Jacob nor Job no Sabbath-keepers. (8) That neither Jacob, Joseph, nor the Israelites in Egypt, did observe the Sabbath. (9) The Israelites not permitted to offer sacrifice, while they were in Egypt. (10) Particular proofes that all the morall Law was both knowne and kept amongst the Fathers.

CHAP. IV.

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(2) The

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(2) *The giving of the Decalogue, and how farre it bindeth.* (3) *That in the Iudgement of the Fathers of the Christian Church, the fourth Commandement is of a different nature from the other nine.* (4) *The Sabbath was first given, for a Law, by Moses.* (5) *And being given, was proper onely to the Jewes.* (6) *What moved the Lord to give the Israelites a Sabbath.* (7) *Why the seventh day was rather chosen for the Sabbath, than any other.* (8) *The seventh day not more honoured by the Gentiles, than the eighth or ninth.* (9) *The Attributes given by some Greeke Poets to the seventh day, no Argument that they kept the Sabbath.* (10) *The Jewes derided for their Sabbath, by the Grecians, Romans, and Egyptians.* (11) *The division of the yeere into weekes, not generally used, of old, amongst the Gentiles.*

CHAP. V.

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CHAP. VI.

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(10) *The weekly reading of the Law on the Sabbath day, begun by Ezra.* (11) *No Synagogues nor weekly reading of the Law, during the Government of the Kings.* (12) *The Scribes and Doctors of the Law, impose new rigours on the people, about their Sabbaths.*

CHAP. VIII.

What doth occurre about the Sabbath, from the *Maccabees*, to the destruction of the Temple.

(1) *The Jewes refuse to fight in their owne defence, upon the Sabbath; and what was ordered thereupon.* (2) *The Pharisees, about these times, had made the Sabbath burdensome by their traditions.* (3) *Hierusalem twice taken by the Romans, on the Sabbath day.* (4) *The Romans, many of them, Judaize, and take up the Sabbath; as other nations did by the Jewes example.* (5) *Whether the Strangers dwelling amongst the Jewes, did observe the Sabbath.* (6) *Augustus Caesar very gracious to the Jewes, in matters that concerned their Sabbath.* (7) *What our Redeemer taught, and did, to rectifie the abuses of, and in the Sabbath.* (8) *The finall ruine of the Temple, and the Jewish Ceremonies, on a Sabbath day.* (9) *The Sabbath abrogated with the other Ceremonies.* (10) *Wherein consisteth the Spirituall Sabbath mentioned in the Scriptures, and amongst the Fathers.* (11) *The idle and ridiculous nicities of the moderne Jewes, in their Parasceves and their Sabbaths, conclude this first part.*

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CHAP. I.

That there is nothing found in Scripture, touching the keeping of the Lords day.

(1) *The Sabbath not intended for a perpetuall ordinance.* (2) *Preparatives unto the dissolution of the Sabbath, by our Saviour Christ.* (3) *The Lords day not enjoy'd in the place thereof, either by Christ, or his Apostles: but instituted by the authority of the Church.* (4) *Our Saviours Resurrection upon the first day of the weeke, and apparition on the same, make it not a Sabbath.* (5) *The coming downe of the Holy Ghost upon the first day of the weeke, makes it not a Sabbath.* (6) *The first day of the weeke, not kept more like a Sabbath than the other dayes, by S. Peter, S. Paul, or any other of the Apostles.* (7) *Saint Paul frequents the Synagogues on the Jewish Sabbath; and upon what reasons.* (8) *What was concluded against the Sabbath, in the Council holden at Hierusalem.* (9) *The preaching of S. Paul at Troas, upon the first day of the weeke, no Argument, that then that day was set apart by the Apostles, for religious exercises.* (10) *Collections on the first day of the weeke 1 Cor. 16. conclude as little for that purpose.* (11) *Those places of S. Paul, Galat. 4. 10. Coloss. 2. 16. doe prove invincibly, that there is no Sabbath to be looked for.* (12) *The first day of the weeke not called the Lords day, untill the end of this first Age: and what that Title addes unto it.*

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CHAP. II.

In what estate the Lords day stood, from the death of the Apostles, to the Reigne of Constantine.

(1) *Touching the Orders, settled by the Apostles, for the Congregation.* (2) *The Lords day, and the Saturday, both Festivals, and both observed in the East, in Ignatius time.* (3) *The Saturday not without great difficulty made a fasting day.* (4) *The controversie about keeping Easter; and how much it conduceth to the present business.* (5) *The Feast of Easter not affixed to the Lords day, without much opposition of the Easterne Churches.* (6) *What Iustin Martyr, and Dionysius of Corinth, have left us of the Lords day: Clemens Alexandrinus his dislike thereof.* (7) *Vpon what grounds the Christians of the former times used to pray, standing, on the Lords day, and the time of Pentecost.* (8) *What is recorded by Tertullian of the Lords day; and the Assemblies of the Church.* (9) *Origen, as his Master Clemens had done before, dislikes set dayes for the Assembly.* (10) *Saint Cyprian, what he tells us of the Lords day; and of the reading of the Scriptures, in Saint Cyprians time.* (11) *Of other holy dayes established in these three first Ages; and that they were observed as solemnly as the Lords day was.* (12) *The name of Sunday, often used by the Primitive Christians, for the Lords day; but the Sabbath, never.*

CHAP. III.

That in the fourth Age, from the time of Constantine to Saint Augustine, the Lords day was not taken for a Sabbath day.

(1) *The Lords day first established, by the Emperour Constantine.* (2) *What labours were permitted, and what restrained on the Lords day by this Emperours Edict.* (3) *Of other holy dayes, and Saints dayes, instituted in the time of Constantine.* (4) *That weekly, other dayes, particularly the Wednesday and the Friday, were in this Age, and those before,*

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before, appointed for the meetings of the Congregation. (5) *The Saturday as highly honoured in the Easterne Churches, as the Lords day was.* (6) *The Fathers of the Easterne Church crie downe the Iewish Sabbath, though they held the Saturday.* (7) *The Lords day not spent wholly in religious exercises: and what was done with that part of it, which was left at large.* (8) *The Lords day, in this Age, a day of Feasting: and that it hath bene alwayes judged hereticall, to hold fasts thereon.* (9) *Of Recreations on the Lords day; and of what kinde those Dancings were, against the which the Fathers weigh so sharply.* (10) *Other Imperiall Edicts about the keeping of the Lords day, and the other holy dayes.* (11) *The Orders at this time in use on the Lords day, and other dayes of publike meeting.* (12) *The infinite differences betwene the Lords day and the Sabbath.*

CHAP. IV.

The great improvement of the Lords day in the fifth and sixth Ages, make it not a Sabbath.

(1) *In what estate the Lords day stood in Saint Austins time.* (2) *Stage-playes and publike Shewes prohibited on the Lords day, and the other holy dayes, by Imperiall Edicts.* (3) *The base and beastly nature of the Stage-playes, at those times, in use.* (4) *The barbarous and bloudie qualitie of the Spectacula, or Shewes, at this time prohibited.* (5) *Neither all civill business, nor all kinde of pleasures, restrained on the Lords day, by the Emperour Leo; as some give it out.* (6) *The French and Spaniards, of the sixth Age, begin to Judaize about the Lords day: and of restraint of Husbandrie on that day, in that Age first made.* (7) *The so much cited Canon of the Councell of Malconi proves no Lords day Sabbath.* (8) *Of publike honours done, in these Ages, to the Lords day, both by Prince and Prelate.* (9) *No Evening Service on the Lords day, till these present Ages.* (10) *Of publike Orders now established, for the better*

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regulating of the Lords day meetings. (11) The Lords day not more reckoned of, than the greater Festivals; and of the other holy dayes, in these Ages instituted. (12) All businesse, and recreation, not by Law prohibited, are, in themselves, as lawfull on the Lords day, as on any other.

CHAP. V.

That in the next 600 yeeres, from Pope Gregorie forewards, the Lords day was not reckned of, as of a Sabbath.

(1) Pope Gregories care to set the Lords day free from some Jewish rigours, at that time obruded on the Church. (2) Strange fancies taken up, by some few men, about the Lords day, in these darker Ages. (3) Scriptures, and Miracles, in these times found out, to justifie the keeping of the Lords day holy. (4) That in the judgement of the most learned men in these sixe Ages, the Lords day hath no other ground, than the Authoritie of the Church. (5) With how much difficultie the people of these Westerne parts were barred, from following their Husbandrie, and Courts of Law, on the Lords day. (6) Husbandrie not restrained on the Lords day in the Easterne parts, untill the time of Leo Philosophus. (7) Markets, and Handy-crafts, restrained with no lesse opposition, than the Plough, and pleading. (8) Severall casus reservari in the Lawes themselves, wherein men were permitted to attend those busineses, on the Lords day, which the Lawes restrained. (9) Of divers great and publike actions, done, in these Ages, on the Lords day. (10) Dancing, and other sports, no otherwise prohibited on the Lords day, than as they were an hindrance to Gods publike service. (11) The other holy dayes as much esteemed of, and observed, as the Lords day was. (12) The publike hallowing of the Lords day, and the other holy dayes, in these prelent Ages. (13) No Sabbath all these Ages heard of, either on Saturday, or Sunday:

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Sunday: And how it stood with Saturday, in the Easterne Churches.

CHAP. VI.

What is the judgement of the Schoole-men, and of the Protestants; and what the practice of those Churches in this Lords-day businesse.

(1) That in the judgement of the Schoole-men, the keeping of one day in seven, is not the morall part of the fourth Commandment. (2) As also that the Lords day is not founded on Divine Authoritie, but the Authoritie of the Church. (3) A Catalogue of the holy dayes drawne up in the Councell of Lyons: and the new doctrine of the Schooles, touching the naturall sanctitie of the holy dayes. (4) In what estate the Lords day stood, in matter of restraint from labour, at the Reformation. (5) The Reformateurs finde great fault both with the said new doctrine, and restraints from labour. (6) That in the judgement of the Protestant Divines, the sanctifying of one day in seven is not the morall part of the fourth Commandment. (7) As also that the Lords day hath no other ground, on which to stand, than the Authoritie of the Church. (8) And that the Church hath power to change the day, and to transferre it to some other. (9) What is the practice of the Roman, Lutheran, and chiefly the Calvinian Churches on the Lords day, in matter of devotion, rest from labour, and sufferance of lawfull pleasure. (10) Dancing cryed downe by Calvin, and the French Churches; not in relation to the Lords day, but the sport it selfe. (11) In what estate the Lords day stands in the Easterne Churches: And that the Saturday is observed by the Ethiopians, as the Lords day is.

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CHAP. VII.

In what estate the *Lords day* stood in this Isle of Britaine, from the first planting of Religion to the Reformation.

(1) *What doth occurre about the Lords day, and the other Festivals amongst the Churches of the Britaines.* (2) *Of the estate of the Lords day, and the other holy dayes in the Saxon Heptarchie.* (3) *The honours done unto the Sunday, and the other holy dayes, by the Saxon Monarchs.* (4) *Of publike actions, civill, ecclesiasticall, mixt, and military, done on the Lords day under the first six Norman Kings.* (5) *New Sabbath doctrines broached in England in King Johns reigne; and the miraculous originall of the same.* (6) *The prosecution of the former businesse; and ill successe therein, of the undertakers.* (7) *Restraint of worldly businesse on the Lords day, and the other holy dayes, admitted in these times in Scotland.* (8) *Restraint of certaine servile workes, on Sundayes, holy dayes, and the Wakes, concluded in the Councell of Oxon under King Henry 3.* (9) *Husbandrie, and legall processe, prohibited on the Lords day, first, in the reigne of King Edward the 3.* (10) *Selling of Wooll on the Lords day, and the solemne Feasts forbidden first by the said King Edward, as after, Faires, and Markets generally, by King Henry 6.* (11) *The Cordwainers of London restrained from selling of their Wares on the Lords day, and some solemne feasts, by King Edward the 4. and the repealing of that Law by King Henry the 8.* (12) *In what estate the Lords day stood, both for the doctrine and the practice, in the beginning of the Reigne of the said King Henry.*

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CHAP. VIII.

The *Storie of the Lords day*, from the reformation of Religion in this Kingdome, till this present time.

(1) *The Doctrine of the Lords day and the Sabbath delivered by three severall Martyrs, conformably unto the judgement of the Protestants before remembred.* (2) *The Lords day, and the other holy dayes confessed by all this Kingdome, in the Court of Parliament, to have no other ground than the Authoritie of the Church.* (3) *The meaning and occasion of that Clause in the Common-Prayer Booke, Lord have mercy upon us, &c. repeated at the end of the fourth Commandement.* (4) *That by the Queenes Injunctions, and the first Parliamente of her Reigne, the Lords day was not meant for a Sabbath day.* (5) *The Doctrine in the Homilies delivered, about the Lords day, and the Sabbath.* (6) *The summe and substance of that Homily; and that it makes not any thing for a Lords-day-Sabbath.* (7) *The first originall of the new Sabbath-speculations in this Church of England; by whom, and for what cause invented.* (8) *Strange and most monstrous Paradoxes, preached on occasion of the former Doctrines; and of the other dangerous effects thereof.* (9) *What care was taken of the Lords day, in King James his Reigne; the spreading of the former Doctrines; and of the Articles of Ireland.* (10) *The Jewish Sabbath set on foot: And of King James his Declaration about lawfull Sports, on the Lords day.* (11) *What Tracts were writ, and published, in that Princes Reigne, in opposition of the Doctrines before remembred.* (12) *In what estate the Lords day, and the other holy dayes have stood in Scotland, since*

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the reformation of Religion in that Kingdome. (13)
Statutes about the Lords day, made in the Reigne of our
dread Sovereigne now being, and the misconstruing of
the same: His Majestie revineth and enlargeth
the Declaration of King James. (14) An
Exhortation to obedience unto his
Majesties most Christian pur-
pose, concludes this
Historie.



THE HISTORY OF THE SABBATH.

The first Booke.

From the Creation of the World, to
the destruction of the Temple.

BY
PET. HEYLYN.

EXOD. 31. 15, 16.

Wherefore the children of Israel shall keepe the Sabbath,
to observe the Sabbath throughout their generations: it is
a signe between mee and the children of Israel, for ever.

LONDON,

Printed for Henry Seile, and are to be sold at the Signe
of the Tygers-head in Saint Pauls
Church-yard, 1636.

O&ob. 24. 1635.

Perlegi universum hoc opus cui titulus
(The History of the Sabbath) quod
continet folia 320, in quibus nihil repe-
rio sanæ doctrinæ aut bonis moribus contra-
rium, quo minùs publicâ cum utilitate imprimi
possit; sub ea tamen conditione, ut si non intra
annum proximè sequentem typis mandetur, hæc
licentia sit omnino irrita.

Gulielmus Haywood R.R.D. Archiep.
Cant. Capellanus Domest.

PART. I.

CHAP. I. I



THE HISTORY OF THE SABBATH.

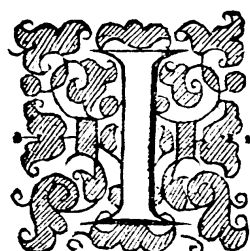
CHAP. I.

That the SABBATH was not insti-
tuted in the *beginning* of the
World.

- (1) The entrance to the worke in hand. (2) That
those words, Genes. 2. And God blessed the seventh Day,
&c. are there delivered, as by way of Anticipation.
(3) Anticipations in the Scripture confessed by them,
who denie it here. (4) Anticipations of the same na-
ture not strange in Scripture. (5) No Law imposed by
God on Adam, touching the keeping of the Sabbath.
(6) The Sabbath not ingraft by nature in the soule of
man.

man. (7) The greatest Advocates for the Sabbath, denie it to be any part of the Law of Nature. (8) Of the morality and perfection, supposed to be in the number of seven, by some learned men. (9) That other numbers, in the confession of the same learned men, particularly the first, third, and fourth, are both as inorall and as perfect as the seventh. (10) The like is proved of the sixth, eighth, and tenth: and of other numbers. (11) The Scripture not more favourable to the number of seven, then it is to others. (12) Great caution to be used by those, who love to recreate themselves in the mysteries of numbers.

(1)



Purpose by the grace of God to write an History of the Sabbath, and to make known what practically hath been done, therein, by the Church of God, in all ages past, from the Creation till this present: *Primaq; ab origine mudi, ad mea perpetuum deducere tempora carmen.* One day, as David tels us, teacheth another. Nor can we have a better Schoolmaster in the things of God, then the continuall and most constant practice of those famous men, that have gone before us. An undertaking of great difficulty, but of greater profit. In which I will crave leave to say, as doth Saint *Austine*, in the entrance to his Books *de Civitate*; *Magnum opus & arduum, sed Deus est adiutor noster.* Therefore, most humbly begging the assistance of Gods holy Spirit to guide me in the way of truth, I shall apply my selfe to so great a worke; beginning with the first beginnings, and so continuing my discourse, successively unto these times, wherein

ED. I. C. I.

wherein we live. In which no accident of note, as farre as I am able to discern, shall passe unobserved, which may conduce to the discovery of the truth, and setting of the minds of men in a point so controverted. On therefore *ad* to the present businesse. [In the beginning (saith the Text) God created the Heaven and the Earth. Which being finished, and all the hoste of them made perfect, on the seventh day God ended his worke which hee had made, and hee rested on the seventh day from all his worke which hee had made. And then it followeth, And God blessed the seventh day and sanctified it, because that in it hee had rested from all his worke, which God created and made. Vnto this passage of the Text, and this point of time, some have referred the institution and originall of the Sabbath: taking these words to be a plain narration of a thing then done, according to that very time, wherein the Scripture doth report it. And that the sanctifying of the seventh day, therein mentioned, was a Commandement given by God to our Father *Adam*, touching the sanctifying of that day to his publick worship. Conceiving also that there is some speciall mysterie and moralitie in the number of seven, for which that day, and none but that, could be designed and set apart for this employment. Others, and those the ancients, and of more authority, conceive these words to have been spoken by a *Prolepsis* or *Anticipation*; and to relate unto the times, wherein *Moses* wrote. And that it was an intimation onely of the reason, why God imposed upon the *Jews*, the sanctifying rather of the seventh day, then of any other: no precept to that purpose being given to *Adam*, and to his posterity; nor any mysterie in that number, why of it selfe it should be thought most proper for Gods publick service. The perfect stating of these points, will give great light to the following story. And therefore wee will first crave leave to remove these doubts, before we come to matter of fact; that

B 3

that afterwards I may proceed, with the greater ease to my self, & satisfaction to the Reader. The ground-work or foundation laid, the building will be raised the surer.

(2) And first it is conceived by many learned men, that *Moses* in the second of *Genesis*, relates unto the times in the which he lived, and wrote the Historie of the Creation: when God had now made knowne his holy will unto him, and the Commandment of the *Sabbath* had by his Ministry been delivered to the house of *Israel*. This is indeed the ancienter and more generall tendry, unanimously delivered both by *Iew* and *Christian*; and not so much as questioned till these latter dayes. And howsoever some ascribe it to *Toshatu*, as to the first inventer of it; yet it is ancienter farre then he: though were it so, it could not be denied, but that it had an able and a learned Authour. A man considering the times in which he lived, and the short time of life it pleased God to give him; that hardly ever had his equall. Its true, *Toshatu* thus resolves it. He makes this *queræ* first, *Nam sabbatum cum à Deo sanctificatum fuerit in primordiis rerum, &c.* Whether the *Sabbath* being sanctified by God in the first infancy of the World, had been observed of men; by the *Law of Nature*. And thereunto returns this answer, *quod Deus non dedit præceptum illud de observatione sabbati in principio, sed per Moysen datum esse, &c.* That God commanded not the *Sabbath* to be sanctified in the beginning of the World, but that it was commanded afterwards by the *Law of Moses*; when God did publicly make known his will upon Mount *Sinai*. And that whereas the Scripture speaketh of sanctifying the seventh day, in the second of *Genesis*, it is not to be understood, as if the Lord did then appoint it, for his publick worship; but it to be referred unto the time wherein *Moses* wrote, which was in the Wilderness. *Epist. Moses intendit dicere quod Deus illi sabbatum sanctificavit,*

In Gen. 2.

"*cavit, se. NOBIS, &c.* And so, saith he, the meaning of the Prophet will be briefly this, that God did sanctifie that day, that is, *in V. 3, to w. that are* his people of the house of *Jacob*, that we might consecrate it to his service. So farre *Toshatu*. In which I must confesse, that I see not any thing, but what *Iosephus* said before him, though in other words: who speaking of the Worlds Creation, doth conclude it thus, *Kai to v. uoouy, &c.* So that *Moses* saith, that the World and all that is therein, was made in six whole dayes, and that upon the seventh day God took rest, and ceased from his labours. *Odey y. uqut yodv and nãv noyav x. tãnyv apyev nãv nuqav, &c.* By reason whereof, wee likewise desist from travaile on that day, which we call the *Sabbath*, i.e. repose. So that the institution of the *Sabbath*, by *Toshatu*; and the observation of it, by *Iosephus*; are both of them referred, by their *us*, and *wee*, unto the times of *Moses*, and the house of *Israel*. Nor is *Iosephus* the only learned man amongst the *Jewes*, that so interpreteth *Moses* meaning. *Salomon Iarchi*, one of the principall of the *Rabbins* speaks more expressly to this purpose; and makes this Glosse or Comment upon *Moses* words. *Benedixit ei, i.e. in manna, &c.* God blessed the seventh day, i.e. in *Mannah*, because for every day of the week, an *Homer* of it fell upon the earth, and a double portion on the sixth; and sanctified it, i.e. in *Mannah*, because it fell not on the seventh day at all. *Et scriptura loquitur de re futura.* And in this place (saith he) the Scripture speaks as of a thing that was to come. Nay, generally the *Hebrew Doctors* do affirme as much, assuring us that the Commandment of the *Sabbath*, was neither given nor known till the fall of *Mannah*; & ante illa mandata datum esse, quando *Mannah* acciperetur: whose testimony more at large, shall be reported in the first Section of the fourth Chapter of this Booke. If not before the fall of *Mannah*, then certainly

Antiqu. l. 1. 2.

Ap. Hospin. d.
Fest. Ind. 23.

In Gen 2.

not given at the first beginning: and therefore mentioned here as by *Anticipation*. But what need more be said? *Mercer* a learned Protestant, and one much conversant in the *Rabbins*, confesseth that the *Rabbins* generally referre this place and passage to the following times, even to the sanctification of the *Sabbath*, established by the Law of *Moses*, and the fall of *Mannah*, *Hebrei fere ad futurum referant*, i. e. *sanctificationem Sabbati postea lege per Moysen sancitam: unde & Manna eodie non descendit*. And howsoever for his own part, he is of opinion, that the first Fathers being taught by God, kept the seventh day holy: yet he conceives withall, that the Commandement of keeping holy the *Sabbath day*, was not made till afterwards. *Nam hinc* (from Gods own resting on that day) *postea praeceptum de Sabbato natum est*, as he there hath it. Doubtlesse, the *Jewes*, who so much doted on their *Sabbath*, would not by any means have robbed it of so great antiquity; had they had any ground to approve thereof, or not knowne the contrary. So that the scope of *Moses* in this present place, was not to shew the time when; but the occasion, why, the Lord did after sanctify the seventh day for a *Sabbath day*: viz. because that on that day he rested from the works, which he had created.

(3) Nor was it otherwise conceived, then that *Moses* here did speake by way of *Prolepsis*, or *Anticipation*, till *Ambrose Catharin*, one of the great sticklers in the *Trent-Councell*, opined the contrary. Hee in his Comment on that Text falls very foule upon *Tostatus*; and therein leads the dance to others, who have since taken up the same opinion. *Ineptum est quod quidam commentus est, &c.* It is a foolish thing (saith he) that, (as a certain Writer fancieth) the sanctification of that day which *Moses* speaks of, should not be true as of that very point of time whereof he speaks it, but rather is to be referred unto the time wherein he wrote: as if the

“ the meaning onely were, that then it should be sanctified when it was ordered and appointed by the Law of *Moses*. And this hee calls *Commentum ineptum, & contra literam ipsam, & contra ipsum Moyses declarationem*; A foolish and absurd conceit, contrary unto *Moses* words, and to his meaning. Yet the same *Catharin* doth affirme in the self-same Book, *Scripturis frequentissimum esse, multa per anticipationem narrare*; that nothing is more frequent in the holy Scriptures, then these anticipations. And in particular, that whereas it is said in the former Chapter, male and female created he them, per anticipationem dictum esse non est dubitandum, that (without doubt) it is so said by anticipation: the woman not being made, as he is of opinion, till the next day after, which was the *Sabbath*. For the *Anticipation* he cites *Saint Chrysostome*, who indeed tels us on that text, εἶδες πῶς τὸ ἀνέμπετο γυνὴς, ὡς γυνὴς διεγύνατο. Behold, saith he, how that which was not done as yet, is here related as if done already. He might have added, for that purpose, *Origen* on the first of *Genesis*, and *Gregory the Great*, *Moral. lib. 32. cap. 9.* both which take notice of a *Prolepsis*, or *Anticipation* in that place of *Moses*. For the creation of the woman he brings in *Saint Ierome*, who in his Tract against the *Jewes* expressly saith, mulierem conditam fuisse die septimo, that the woman was created on the seventh day or *Sabbath*: to which this *Catharin* assents, and thinks that thereupon the Lord is said to have finished all his works on the seventh day; that being the last that he created. This seemes indeed to be the old tradition, if it be lawfull for me to digresse a little: it being supposed that *Adam* being wearied in giving names unto all creatures on the sixth day, in the end whereof he was created; did fall that night into a deepe and heavy sleepe: and that upon the *Sabbath* or the seventh day morning, his side was opened, and a rib tooke thence, for the creation of the woman. So *Augustinus Senecimus*

Aug. Senecimus
in Gen. 2.

re-

reports the Legend. And this I have the rather noted, to meet with *Catharinus* at his own weapon. For whereas he concludes from the rest of God, that, without doubt, the institution of the Sabbath began upon that very day wherein God rested: it seems, by him, God did not wholly rest upon that day; and so we either must have no Sabbath to be kept at all; or else it will be lawfull for us by the Lords example, to do what ever worke wee have to do, upon that day; and after sanctifie the remainder. And yet I needs must say withall, that *Catharinus* was not the onely he, that thought God wrought upon the Sabbath. *Aretius* also so conceived it. *Dies itaque tota non fuit quiete transacta, sed perfecto opere ejus deinceps quievis, ut Hebraeus contextus habet.* The whole day was not spent (saith he) in rest from labour, but then God rested when he had perfected all his works; according as the Hebrew Text informes us. Mercer a man well skilled in Hebrew, denieth not but the Hebrew Text will beare that meaning. Who thereupon conceives that the seventy Elders in the Translation of that place, did purposely translate it, *ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ἑβδόμῃ, that on the sixth day God finished all the worke that he had made, and after rested on the seventh.* And this they did, saith he, *ut omnem dubitandi occasionem tollerent, to take away all hint of collecting thence, that God did any kinde of work on that day. For if he finished all his works on the seventh day, it may be thought (saith he) that God wrought upon it.* Saint Hierome noted this before, that the Greeke Text was herein different from the Hebrew; and turnes it as argument against the Jewes; and their rigid keeping of the Sabbath. *Artstavimus igitur Iudæos qui de ocio sabbati gloriantur, quod jam tunc in principio sabbatum dissolutum sit, dum Deus operatur in sabbato, complens opera sua in eo; & benedicens ipse diei, quia in ipso universa compleverat.* Here, saith the Father, have we brought the Jewes to a narrow streight, who

Prebium, loc 55.

In Gen. 2.

Qu. Hebraice in Gen.

“ who so much glory in their Sabbath: as being
“ broken even in the first beginning, when God did
“ worke upon that day, perfecting on the same his
“ workes, and therefore blessing it, because thereon hee
“ finished all the works which he had created. If so, if
God himselfe did breake the Sabbath, as Saint Hierome turns upon the Jewes: we have small cause to thinke that hee should at that very time, impose the Sabbath as a Law, upon his creatures.

(4) But to proceed. Others that have took part with *Catharinus* against *Tostatus*, have had as ill successe as he; in being forced either to grant the use of anticipation in the holy Scripture; or else to run upon a tenet, wherein they are not like to have any seconds. I wil instance onely in two particulars, both *Englistmen*, and both exceeding zealous, in the present cause. The first is *Doctour Bound*, who first of all did set a foot these *Sabbatarian speculations* in the Church of England, wherewith the Church is stil disquieted. He determines thus. I deny not, saith hee, but that the Scripture speaketh often of things, as though they had beene so before, because they were so then, when the things were written. As when it is said of *Abraham*, that hee remooved unto a Mountaine Eastward of *Bethel*, whereas it was not called *Bethel*, till above a 100 yeares after. The like may be said of another place in the Book of *Judges* called *Bechin*, &c. yet in this place of *Genesis* it is not so. And why not so in this, as well as those? Because (saith he) *Moses* entreateth there of the sanctification of the Sabbath, not onely because it was so then, when hee wrote that Book, but specially because it was so even from the Creation. Which by his leave, is not so much a reason of his opinion, as a plain begging of the question. The second, *Doctour Ames*, the first I take it, that sowed *Bounds* doctrine of the Sabbath in the *Netherlads*. Who saith expressly first, and in generall termes, *huiusmodi*

2. Edit. p 10.

Medulla Theol. l. 2. c. 15. Sect. 9.

Voss. 32.

Voss. 34.

Voss. 35.

24. 62.

modi prolepsos exemplum nullum in tota scriptura dari posse, that no example of the like anticipation can be found in Scripture: the contrary whereof is already proved. After more warily, and in particular, de huiusmodi institutione Proleptica, that no such institution is set down in Scripture, by way of a Prolepsis or Anticipation, either in that book, or in any other. And herein, as before I said, he is not like to finde any seconds. We finde it in the sixteenth of Exodus, that thus Moses said. This is the thing which the Lord commandeth: Fill an Omer of it [of the Mannah] to be kept for your generations, that they may see the bread wherewith I have fed you in the Wilderness, when I brought you forth from the land of Egypt. It followeth in the text, that as the Lord commanded Moses, so Aaron laid it up before the testimony to be kept. Here is an ordinance of Gods, an institution of the Lords, and this related in the same manner, by anticipation, as the former was. Lyra upon the place affirms expressly, that it is spoken there per anticipationem: and so doth Vatablus too, in his Annotations on that Scripture. But to make sure worke of it, I must send Doctor Ames to schoole to Calvin, who tels us on this text of Moses, non contexuit Moles historiam suo ordine, sed narratione xpi per anaphoram interposita, melius confirmat, &c. Moses, saith he, relates not here the history in its place and order; but sets it downe by way of prolepsis or Anticipation. Indeed it could not well be otherwise interpreted. For how could Aaron lay up a pot of Mannah to be kept before the testimony, when as yet there was neither Arke, nor Tabernacle, and so no testimony before which to keep it? To bring this businesse to an end, Moses hath told us in the place before remembred, that the children of Israel did eat Mannah forty yeares, which is not otherwise true, in that place and time, in which he tels it, but by the helpe and figure of anticipation. And this Saint Austin noted in his questions upon Exodus, Significat scriptura

scriptura per Prolepsin, i. e. hoc loco commemorando quod etiam postea factum est: This is expressed, saith he, in Scripture by an anticipation: that is, by mentioning in that place and time, a thing not done a long while after. And lastly, where Amesius sets it down for certain, that no man euer thought of an anticipation in this place of Moses, qui praedictio aliquo de observatione diei Dominica non fuit prius anticipatus, who was not first possessed with some manifest prejudice, against the sanctifying of the Lords day: this cannot possibly be said against Tostatus, who had no enemy to encounter, nor no opinion to oppose, and so no prejudice. We conclude then, that for this passage of the Scripture, we finde not any thing unto the contrary, but that it was set down in that place and time, by a plaine and meere anticipation; and doth relate unto the time wherein Moses wrote: And therefore no sufficient warrant to fetch the institution of the Sabbath, from the first beginnings. One onely thing I have to adde, and thats the reason which moved Moses, to make this mention of the Sabbath, even in the first beginning of the Book of God, and so long time before the institution of the same. Which doubtlesse was, the better to excite the Jews to observe that day, from which they seemed at first to be much averse: and therefore were not onely to be minded of it, by a Memento in the front of the Commandment; but by an intimation of the equity and reason of it, even in the entrance of Gods Book, derived from Gods first resting on that day after all his works. Theodoret hath so resolved it, in his Questions on the Book of Genesis, Maxime autem Judaeis ista scribens, necessario posuit hoc, sanctificavit eum, ut majore cultu prosequantur Sabbathum. Hoc enim in legibus sanciendo inquit, sex diebus creavit Deus, &c. Moses, saith he, writing these things for the use and benefit of the Jews, was of necessitie to set downe the sanctifying of the Sabbath, at this place and time, that so they might observe

Voss. supra.

24. 27.

observe it with the greater reverence.

(5) I said an intimation of the equity and reason of it, for thats as much as can be gathered from that place: though some have laboured what they could, to make the sanctifying of the seventh day, therein mentioned, a precept given by God to our Father Adam, touching the sanctifying of that day, to his publick worship. Of this I shall not now say much, because the practice will disprove it. Onely I cannot but report the minde and judgement of *Pererius* a learned *Iesuite*. Who amongst other reasons which he hath alledged, to prove the observation of the Sabbath, not to have took beginning in the first infancy of the World, makes this for one: that generally the Fathers have agreed on this, *Deum non aliud imposuisse Adamo preceptum, omnino positivum, nisi illud de non edendo fructu arboris scientie, &c.* that God imposed no other law on Adam, which was plainly positive, then that of not eating the forbidden fruit of the Tree of knowledge. Of the which Fathers, since he hath instanced in none particularly, I will make bold to lay before you some two or three; that so out of the mouthes of two or three witnesses the truth hereof may be established. And first we have *Tertullian*, who resolves it thus. *Namque in principio mundi ipsi Adæ & Evæ legem dedit, &c.* In the beginning of the World, the Lord commanded Adam and Eve that they should not eat of the fruit of the tree, which is in the middle of the Garden. Which Law (saith he) had beene sufficient for their justification, had it beene observed. For in that Law, all other precepts were included, which afterwards were given by *Moses*. *Saint Basil* next, who tels us first, that abstinence or fasting was commanded by the Lord in *Paradise*. And then, τὸ πρῶτον ἐλάθεν Ἀδὰμ τὸ τῷ ζύλῳ, τὸ μὴ φάγεσθαι καλὸν καὶ πονηρὸν, &c. the first Commandement given by God to Adam was, that he should not eat of the tree of know-

Adv. Iudeos,

De jejunio.

knowledge. The very same, which is affirmed by *Saint Ambrose* in another language, *Et ut sciamus non esse novum jejunium, primam illis legem, [i.e. in Paradise] constituit de jejunio*. That we may know, saith this good Father, that abstinence or fasting is no new invention, the first Law which the Lord proclaimed in *Paradise*, was that of fasting. See to this purpose *Chrysost. hom. 14. & 16.* on the booke of *Genesis*; *Austin de Civit. l. 14. c. 12.* and many other Christian Doctors of all times and ages, who do from hence aggravate the offence of Adam, in that he had but one commandment imposed on him, and yet kept it not. So perfectly agree in this, the greatest lights both of *African*, the *Easterne*, and the *Westerne* Churches. If so, if that the law of abstinence had beene alone sufficient for the justification of our Father Adam, as *Tertullian* thinks; or if it were the first law, given by God unto him, as both *Saint Basil* and *Saint Ambrose* are of opinion: the onely Law, as both *Saint Austin* and the Schoole-men thinke: then was there no such law at all, then made, as that of sanctifying of the Sabbath; or else not made according to that time and order, wherein this passage of the Scripture is layed downe by *Moses*. And if not then, there is no other ground for this Commandment in the Book of God, before the wandering of Gods people in the Wildernesse, and the fall of *Mannah*. A thing so cleare, that some of those, who willingly would have the Sabbath to have beene kept from the first Creation; have not the confidence to ascribe the keeping of it, to any ordinance of God, but onely to the voluntary imitation of his people. And this is *Torniellus* way, amongst many others, who though he attribute to *Enos* both set formes of prayer, and certaine times by him selected for the performance of that duty; *precipue vero diebus Sabbati*, especially upon the Sabbath: yet he resolves it as before, that such as sanctified that day, if such there were; *non ex precepto divino,*

Lib de Elia &
jejunio c. 3.

Ann. 236.

Id in die 7.

divino, quod nullum tunc extabat, sed ex pietate solum, id egisse; were not obliged to do, by any precept from the Lord, none such being given, but onely of an arbitrary pietie. Of this opinion doth *Mercer* also seeme to be, as before I noted. So that in this particular point, the *Fathers* and the *moderne Writers*; the *Papist* and the *Protestant*, agree most lovingly together.

(6) Much lesse did any of the *Fathers*, or other ancient Christian Writers, conceive that sanctifying of the *Sabbath*, or one day in seven, was *naturally* ingrafted in the minde of man, from his *first creation*. Its true, they tell us of a *Law*, which *naturally* was ingrafted in him. So *Chrysostome* affirms, that neither *Adam*, nor any other man, did ever live without the guidance of this *Law*: and that it was imprinted in the soule of man, as soon as he was made a living creature. ἔτε γὰρ ὁ Ἀδὰμ, ἔτε ἀλλοτρίου ἀνθρώπου ἐδίδετο φάντασμα χωρὶς νόμου ἕως φυσικῶς. οὐκ ἔτε γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐπαλάσσειν ὁ Θεός, καὶ ἐκείνον ἐπετίθει τὸν νόμον αὐτοῦ, as that Father hath it. But neither he nor any other, did ever tell us that the *Sabbath* was a part of this *Law of nature*: nay, some of them expressly have affirmed the contrary. *Theodoret* for example, that these Commandments, *Thou shalt not kill, Thou shalt not commit adultery, Thou shalt not steale*, and others of that kinde, *alios quoque homines natura edocuit*, were generally implanted by the *law of nature*, in the minds of men. But for the keeping of the *sabbath*, it came not in by nature, but by *Moses law*. *At Sabbati observandi, non natura magistra, sed latio legis*. So *Theodoret*. And answerably thereunto *Sedulius* doth divide the law, into three chiefe parts. Whereof the first is *de Sacramentis*, of signes and Sacraments, as *Circumcision*, and the *Passeover*: the second is, *qua congruit legi naturali*, the body of the *Law of nature*; and is the summary of those things which are prohibited by the words of God: the third and last, *factorum*, of rites and ceremonies (for so I take

In Rom 7. 12.
bon. 12.

In Exod. 20.

In Rom 3.

it

it is his meaning) as *new Moones and sabbaths*: which clearly doth exempt the *sabbath*, from having any thing to do with the *law of nature*. And *Damascen* assures us too, that when there was no law enacted, nor any Scripture inspired by God, that then there was no *sabbath* neither, ὅτε γὰρ οὐκ ἦν νόμος, καὶ γρηγορησάμενος, καὶ δὲ τὸ οὐκ ἔσθαι τὸ Θεὸν ἀποφασίζων. To which three Ancients we might adde many more of these later times, * *Ryvet* and *Ames*, and divers others, who though they plead hard for the antiquity of the *sabbath*; dare not referre the keeping of it, to the *law of nature*: but onely (as we shall see anon) unto *positive law*, and *divine commandment*. But hereof we shall speake more largely, when we are come unto the promulgating of this *Law*, in the time of *Moses*: where it will evidently appeare to be a *positive Constitution* onely, fitted peculiarly to the *Jews*; and never otherwise esteemed of, then a *Jewish ordinance*.

(7) Its true, that all men generally have agreed on this, that it is consonant to the *law of nature*, to set apart some time to Gods publicke service: but that this time should rather be the *seventh day*, then any other, that they impute not unto any thing in *nature*; but either to *divine, legall, or Ecclesiasticall* institution. The *Schoolemen, Papists, Protestants*, men of almost all persuasions in religion, have so resolved it. And for the Ancients, our venerable *Bede* assures us, that to the *Fathers* before the law, all dayes were equall; the *seventh day* having no prerogative before the others: and this he calls *naturalis sabbati libertas*, the liberty of the *natural sabbath*, which ought (saith he) to be restored at our Saviours comming. If so, if that the *sabbath*, or time of rest unto the Lord, was naturally left free and arbitrary, then certainly it was not restrained more unto one day then another; or to the *seventh day*, more than to the *sixth* or *eighth*. Even *Ambrose Catharin*, as stout a champion as he

De Oribod fide
l. 4. c. 24.* In Decalog.
* Medulla
theol. l. 2. c. 15.

In Luk. 19.

C

Was,

was, for the antiquity of the *sabbath*, finds himselfe at a losse about it. For having took for granted, as he might indeed, that men by the prescript of *nature*, were to assigne *peculiar times* for the service of God; and adding that the very *Gentiles* used so to do: is faine to shut up all
 “ with an *Ignoramus*. *Nescimus modo quem diem precipue observarunt prisca illi Dei cultores*. We cannot
 “ well resolve (saith he) what day especially was observed, by those who worshipped God, in the times of old. Wherein he doth agree exactly with *Abulensis*, against whom principally he tooke up the bucklers; who could have taught him this, if he would have learnt of
 “ such a Master, that howsoever the *Hebrew* people, or
 “ any other, before the giving of the Law, were bound to set apart *some time*, for religious duties: *non tamen magis in sabbato, quam in quolibet aliorum dierum*, yet
 “ were they no more bound to the *sabbath* day, than to any other. So for the *Protestant* Writers, two of the greatest *Advocates* of the *sabbath*, have resolved accordingly. *Quod dies ille solennis unus debeat esse in septimana, hoc positivi juris est*; thats *Amesius* doctrine. And *Ryvet* also saith the same. *Legem de Sabbato, positivam, non naturalem agnoscimus*. The places were both cited in the former Section; and both do make the *sabbath* a meere *positive law*, no prescript of *nature*. But what need more be said in to cleare a case; or what needs further *Witnesses* be produced, to give in evidence, when we have *contententem rem*. For Doctor *Bound*, who first amongst us, here, endeavoured to advance the *Lords day* into the place of the *Jewish sabbath*; and fained a pedigree of the *sabbath*, even from *Adams* infancie: hath herein said enough to betray his cause, and those, who since have either built upon his foundation; or beautified their undertakings with his collections. “ Indeed (saith he) this law was given in the beginning, not so much
 “ by the *light of nature*, as the rest of the nine Com-
 mandments

In Exod. 20.
 24. 11.

“ mandments were; but by expresse words when God
 “ sanctified it. For though this be in the *law of nature*,
 “ that some dayes should be separated to Gods wor-
 “ ship, as appears by the practice of the *Gentiles*: yet
 “ that it should be every *seventh day*, the Lord himselfe
 “ set down in expresse words; which otherwise by the
 “ *light of nature* they could never have found. So that
 by his confession, there is no *sabbath* to be found in the
law of nature: no more then by the testimony of the *Fa-*
thers, in any *positive law*, or divine appointment, untill
 the *Decalogue* was given by *Moses*. 2 Edit p. 11. & 16.

(8) Nay, Doctor *Bound* goeth further yet; and robs his friends and followers of a speciall argument. For where *Danaus* asks this question, *Why one of seven, rather then one of eight, or nine*; and thereunto makes answer, that the number of seven doth signifie perfection and perpetuities: “ First, saith the Doctor, I do not see that proved, that there is any such mysticall signification, rather than of any other. And though that were granted, yet do I not find that to be any cause at all in Scripture, why the *seventh day* should be commanded to be kept holy, rather then the *sixth*, or *eighth*. And in the former page, The speciall reason why the *seventh day* should be rather kept than any other, is not the excellencie or perfection of that number, or that there is any mystery in it, or that God delighteth more in it, then in any other: though, I confesse (saith he) that much is said that way, both in divine and humane writers. Much hath beene said therein indeed, so much, that we may justly wonder at the strange niceties of some men, and the unprofitable pains they have took amongst them, in searching out the mysteries of this number; the better to advance, as they conceive, the reputation of the *sabbath*. *Aug. Steuchius* hath affirmed in generall, that this day and number, is most naturall and most agreeable to divine imployments, and therefore in omni etate inter

Is. p. 69.

In Gen. 2.

omnes gentes habitus venerabilis & sacer, accounted in all times and Nations, holy and venerable; and so have many others said since him. But he that led the way unto him, and to all the rest, is *Philo the Jew*; who being a great follower of *Plato*, took up his way of trading in the mysteries of severall numbers: wherein he was so intricate and perplexed, that *numero Platonis obscurum*, did grow at last into a Proverbe. This *Philo* therefore *Platonizing*, first tels us of this number of seven, *ἐκ τῆς εἰς ἑπτὰ ἀνυμνήτου δύναμι τοῦ φύσις αὐτῆς*, that he perfwades himselfe, there is not any man able sufficiently to extoll it; as being farre above all the powers of *Rhetorick*: and that the *Pythagoreans* (from them first *Plato* learnt those trifles) did usually resemble it, *τὸ ἡμεῶν καὶ συμπάντων*, even to love himselfe. Then, that *Hippocrates* doth divide the life of man into *seven ages*, each age containing *seven* full yeares; to which the changes of mans constitution are al framed & fitted: as also that the *Beare*, or *Arcturus*, as they use to call it, and the constellation called the *Pleiades*, consist of *seven* starres severally, neither more nor lesse. He shews us also, how much nature is delighted in this number, *καίπερ ὅτι ἡ φύσις ἐκδοῦται*, as *viz.* that there are *seven Planets*, and that the Moone quartereth every *seventh day*, that Infants borne in the *seventh moneth* are usally like enough to live; that there are *seven severall* motions of the body, *seven intrails*, so many outward members, *seven holes*, or out-lets, in the same, *seven sorts* of excrements; as also that the *seventh* is the *criticall day* in most kindes of maladies. And to what purpose this, and much more of the same condition, every where scattered in his Writings; but to devise some naturall reason for the *Sabbath*? For so he manifests himselfe in another place. *Τὸ δὲ τῆς ἐκδοῦται ἡδὴ τὸν νόμον αὐτοῖς εἶναι*, &c. "Now why God chose the *seventh day*, and established it by law, for the day of rest, you need not aske at all of me; since both *Physicians*.

Tull. ad Attic.
7. Epl. 13.
De mundi opifi-
cio.

De legis Alleg. l.
1.

Ap. Euseb. Prae-
par. l. 6. 7.

"*cians*, and *Philosophers*, have so oft declared, of what great power and vertue that number is, as in all other things, so especially in the nature and state of man. *Οὐτὸ δὲ αὐτῆς ἐκδοῦται λόγος*. And thus (saith he) you have the reason of the *seventh day-sabbath*. Indeed *Philosophers*, and *Physicians*, and other learned men of great name and credit, have spoken much in honour of the number of seven; and severally impute great power unto it in the works of nature, and severall changes of mans body. Whereof see *Censorinus de Die natali*, cap. 12. *Varro in Gellius lib. 3. cap. 10.* *Hippocrates*, *Solon*, and *Hermippus Beritus* in the sixth Book of *Clemens of Alexandria*; besides divers others. Nay it grew up so high in the opinion of some men, that they derived it at the last, *ἐκ τοῦ σεβασμῆς*, i. e. from the reverence due unto it. So *Philo* tels us. *Macrobium* also saith the same. *Apud veteres ἑπτὰ vocitatur quod Græco nomine testabatur venerationem debitam numero*: as he, in *Gommo Scipionis*.

(9) But other men as good as they, finde no such mysterie in this number, but that the rest may keepe pace with it, if not go before it: and some of those which so much magnifie the *seventh*, have found, as weighty mysteries, in many of the others also. In which I shall the rather enlarge my selfe, that seeing the exceeding great both contradiction and contention, that is betweene them in these needlesse curiosities; we may the better finde the slightnesse of those arguments, which seeme to place a great *moralitie* in this number of *seven*; as if it were by *nature*, the most proper number, for the service of *God*. And first, whereas the learned men before mentioned, affix a speciall power unto it, in the works of nature, *Iustine the Martyr* plainly tels us, *ὅτι τὸ δὲ δύναμις καὶ φύσις*, &c. that the accomplishment of the works of nature is to be ascribed to nature onely, not unto any period of time accounted by the number.

D. legis Alleg.
1.

Respons. ad
qu. 69.

"ber of *seven*; and that they oft times come to their
 "perfection, sooner, or later, then the said periods:
 "which could not be, in case that nature were obser-
 "vant of this number, as, they say, she is, and not this
 "number tyed to the course of nature, *ἡ φύσις ἡ φύσις ἐν ἑαυτῇ*
 "*ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ὅπου ἔρχεται ὁ κόσμος, &c.* Therefore (saith
 "he) this number hath no influence on the works of
 nature. Then whereas others attribute, I know not what
 perfection to this number, above all the rest; *Cicero* af-
 firming that it is *plenus numerus*; *Macrobius*, that it is
numerus solidus & perfectus: *Bodinus* doth affirme ex-
 pressly, *Neutrum de septenario dici potest*, that neither
 of those attributes is to be ascribed unto this number;
 then, that the *eighth* number is a *solid* number, although
 not a *perfect* one; the *sixth*, a *perfect* number also. Now as
Bodinus makes the *eighth* more *solid*, and the *sixth* more
 perfect; so *Servius* on these words of *Virgil*, *Septima post*
decimam felix, prefers the *tenth* number a farre deale
 before it: *Ut primum locum decima ferat, qua sit valde*
felix; secundum septima, ut qua post decima felicitatem
secunda sit. Nay, which may seeme more strange then
 this, the *Arithmeticians* generally, as we read in *Nyssen*,
 make this seventh number, to be utterly barren and un-
 fruitfull, *ὅτι σπέρματος οὐκ ἔχει τὸ ἑβδόμη*. But to go forwards
 in this matter, *Macrobius* who before had said of this
 number of *seven*, that it is *plenus & venerabilis*, both full
 and venerable; hath in the same Book said of the num-
 ber of *one*, that it is *principium & finis omnium*, the be-
 ginning and the end of all things; and that it hath a spe-
 ciall reference or resemblance unto God on high: which
 is by farre the greater commendation of the two. And
Hierom, that however there be many mysteries in the
 number of *seven*: *prima tamen beatitudo est, esse in primo*
numero, yet the prime happinesse or beatitude is to be
 sought for in the *first*. So for the *third*, *Origen* generally
 affirmes that it is *apertus fuerat mundus*, even made for my-
 steries:

De Republ. l. 4.

In Georg. I.

Oratio secunda.

In Amos 5.

In Gen. hem. 3.

steries: & some particulars he nameth. *Macrobius* find-
 eth in it all the naturall faculties of the soule; *λογιστικὴν*, or
 rational; *θυμικὴν*, or irascible, and last of all *ἐπιθυμητικὴν*, or
 concupiscible. Saint *Athanasius* makes it equall altogeth-
 er with the *seventh*; the one being no lesse memorable
 for the *holy Trinity*, then the other for the Worlds Crea-
 tion. And *Servius* on these words of *Virgil*, *Numerus*
Deus impare gaudet, saith that the *Pythagoreans* hold it
 for a perfect number, and do resemble it unto God, *a quo*
principium, & medium, & finis est. Yet on the contrary,
Bodinus takes up *Aristotle*, *Plutarch*, and *Lactantius*,
 for saying that the *third* is a *perfect* number: there being
 in his reckoning, but foure *perfect* numbers in 100000;
 which are 6. 28. 496. and 8128. Next for the *fourth*,
Philo, not onely hath assured vs, that it is *ἀειδαὶ τέλει*,
 a *perfect* number, wherein *Bodinus* contradicts him: but
 that it is highly honoured, as amongst *Philosophers*, so by
Moses also, who hath affirmed of it, that it is, *ἅγιον & αἰ*
αἰνέον, both holy, and praise-worthy too. And for the
 mysteries thereof, *Clement* of *Alexandria* tels us, that
 both *Jehovah* in the *Hebrew*, and *Θεός* in the *Greeke*,
 consisteth of foure letters onely: and so doth *Demi* in the
Latine. *Nazianzen* further doth enforme us, that as the
seventh amongst the *Hebrews*, so was the *fourth* honour-
 ed by the *Pythagoreans*: *ἦν δ' αὖτε πρῶτον παλαιόντα*, and that
 they used to sweare thereby, when they took an oath.
 Yet for all this, Saint *Ambrose* thought this number not
 alone unprofitable, but even dangerous also. *Numerum*
quartum plerique cavent, & inutile putant, as he in his
Hexameron. Then for the *fifth*, *Macrobius* tels us, that
 it comprehendeth all things both in the Heavens above,
 and the earth below. And yet by *Origen* it is placed
 indifferently, partly in *laudabilibus*, partly in *culpa-*
bilibus; there being *five* foolish *Virgins*, for the *five* wise
 ones.

Ad Antiocb.
qu. 51.

In Eclog. 8.

De republ. l. 4.

De mundi opif.

De Abrahamo.

Strom. l. 5.

Orat. 44.

Lib. 4. c. 9.

In Lev. hem. 16.

(10) Now let us look upon the *sixth*, which * *Beda* * In Gen. 2.
 reckoneth

* De rep. l. 4.
* De mundi
epif.
* Clem. Alex.
Strom. l. 4.

In Levit. 12.

In Theſſo.

* De mundi
epiſt.
* De congreſſ.
quæſtiō. gr.
* De Decalogo.

reckoneth to be *numerus perfectus*; and *Bodin*, * *primus perfectorum*. * *Philo*, and generally the * *Pythagoreans* do affirme the same. Yet the same *Bodin* tels us in the selfe-same Booke, that howsoever it be the first perfect number, such as according unto *Plato*, did sort most fitly with the workmanship of God: *Videmus tamen vilissimis animantibus convenire*, yet was it proper, in some sort, to the vilest creatures. As for the eighth, *Hesychius* makes it an expression, or figure of the world to come. *Macrobius*, tels us that the *Pythagoreans* used it as an Hieroglyphick of justice, *Quia primus omnium solvitur in numeros pariter pares*; because it will be alwaies dividible into even or equall members. Nay, whereas those of *Athens* did use to sacrifice to *Neptune*, on the eighth day of every moneth; *Plutarch* hath found out such a mysticall reason for it, out of the nature of that number, as others in the number of seven, for the moralitie of the Sabbath. " They sacrifice (saith he) to *Neptune* on the eight day of every moneth, because the number of eight is the first Cube, made of even numbers, and the double of the first square: τὸ μόνιμον καὶ διπλασίον τὸν οὐκ ἔχον τὴν ὁμοειδίαν, which doth represent an immoveable steadfastnesse, properly attributed to the might of *Neptune*; whom for this cause we name *Asphalius* and *Γαίης*, which signifieth the safe keeper and stayer of the earth. As strong an argument for the one, as any mystery or moralitie derived from numbers, can be for the other. But if we look upon the tenth, we finde a greater commendation given to that, then to the seventh: yea, by those very men themselves, to whom the seventh appeared so sacred. *Philo* affirms thereof, * that of all numbers, it is most * absolute and complete; not meanly celebrated by the Prophet *Moses*; most proper and familiar unto God himselfe; * that the powers and vertues of it are innumerable: and finally, that learned men did call it *δεκάδα ὡς καὶ δεκάδα*, because it comprehended in it selfe,

selfe, all kind of numbers. With whom agree *Macrobius*, who stiles it *numerus perfectissimus*, the most perfect number; and * *Clemens Alexandrinus*, who gives it both the attributes of holinesse and perfection, * *Nazianzene* and * *Athanasius* are as full as they. And here this number seemes to me to have got the better: there being nothing spoken in disgrace of this, as was before of the seventh, by severall Authors there remembred. So that for ought I see, in case this argument be good, for the morality of the Sabbath, we may make every day, or any day a Sabbath, with as much reason as the seventh: and keepe it on the tenth day, with best right of all. *Adeo argumenta ab absurdo petita, ineptos habent exitus*, saith *Lactantius* truly. Nay, by this reason, wee need not keepe a Sabbath oftner, then every thirtieth day, or every fiftieth, or every hundreth: because those numbers have beene noted also to containe great mysteries, and to be perfecter too then others. For *Origen* hath plainly told us, that if we looke into the Scriptures, *invenies multa magnarum rerum gesta sub tricenario & quinquagenario contineri*; we shall finde many notable things delivered to us in the numbers of thirty and fifty. Of fifty more particularly, *Philo* affirms upon his credit, that it is ἀγώτατον καὶ κυριώτατον δεκάδων, the holiest and most naturall of all other numbers: and *Origen* conceived so highly of it, that he breaks out into a *timeo hujus numeri secreta discutere*, and durst not touch upon that string. So lastly for the Centenary, the same Authour tels us, that it is *plenus et perfectus*, no one more absolute. We may have Sabbaths at our will, either too many, or too few, if this plea be good.

(11) Yea, but perhaps, there may be something in the Scripture, whereby the seventh day may bee thought more capable, in nature, of so high an honour. Some have so thought indeed, and thereupon have mustered up all those Texts of Scripture, in which there hath beene any good

* Strom. l. 6.
* Quæd. An-
tioc. 51.
* Orat. 2.

In Gen. homi. 24

De vita con-
templ.

In Num. homi. 8.

In Gen. homi. 2.

IN GEN. 5. 17.

good expressed or intimated, which concernes this number, or is reducible unto it. *Bellarmino* never took more pains, out of that fruitlesse *Topick* to produce *seven Sacraments*: then they have done from thence to derive the *Sabbath*. I need not either name the men, or recite the places: both are knowne sufficiently. Which kinde of prooffe if it be good, we are but where wee were before, amongst our *Ecclesiasticall* and humane Writers. In this, the *Scriptures* will not helpe us, or give the *seventh day* naturally, and in it selfe, more capability or fittest for Gods worship, then the *ninth* or *tenth*. For first the *Scripture* gives not more honour to this number in some Texts thereof, then it detracts from it in others: and secondly, they speak as highly of the other numbers, as they do of this. The Iesuite *Pererius* shall stand up, to make good the first; and Doctour *Cracanthorp* to avow the second. *Pererius* first resolves it cleerly, *numerum Septenarium etiam in rebus pessimis & execrandis saepe numero positum esse in Scriptura sacra*: that the seventh number is oft used in *Scripture*, to signifie the vilest and most execrable things. As for example. *The evill spirit* (saith Saint *Luke*) brought with him *seven spirits* worse then himselfe: and out of *Mary Magdalen*, did *Christ* cast out *seven Devils*, as Saint *Marke* tels us. So in the *Revelation*, Saint *John* informes us of a Dragon, that had *seven heads*, and *seven crownes*, as also of *seven plagues*, sent into the earth, and *seven Vials* of Gods wrath powred out upon it. (He might have told us had he listed, that the purple beast whereon the great Whore rid, had *seven heads* also, and that shee sate upon *seven Mountains*.) It's true (saith hee) which *David* tels us, that he did prayse God *seven times a day*: but then as true it is, which *Solomon* hath told us, that the *just man* falleth *seven times a day*. So in the Book of *Genesis*, we have *seven leane kine*, and *seven thinne eares* of Corne; as well as *seven fat Kine*, and *seven full Eares*: To proceed no fur-

further. *Pererius* hereupon makes this generall resolution of the case; *Apparet igitur eosdem numeros, aequè in bonis & malis poni, & usurpari in sacra scriptura*: Hence it is manifest, saith he, that the same numbers frequently are used in *Scripture*, both for good and evill. Next whereas those of *Rome*, as before I noted, have gone the same way to find out *seven Sacraments*; our *Cracanthorp*, to shew the vanitie of that argument, doth the like, for the prooffe of two. *Quod & si nobis fas esset, &c.* If it were lawfull for us to take this course, wee could produce more for the number of *two*, then they can for *seven*. As for example, God made *two* great Lights in the Firmament, and gave to man *two* eyes, *two* eares, *two* feet, *two* hands, *two* armes. There were *two* Nations in the wombe of *Rebecca*, *two* Tables of the Law, *two* Cherubins, *two* *Sardonich* stones in which were written the names of the sonnes of *Israel*. Thou shalt offer to the Lord, *two* Rams, *two* Turtles, *two* Lambes of a yeere old, *two* young Pigeons, *two* Hee-goats, *two* Oxen for a peace-offering. Let us make *two* Trumpets, *two* Doores of the wood of Olives, *two* Nets, *two* Pillars. There were *two* Hornes of the Lambe, *two* Candlesticks, *two* Olive branches, *two* Witnesses, *two* Prophets, *two* Testaments; and upon *two* Commandements hang all the Law and the Prophets, saith our Saviour. *Congruentiis facile vinceremus, si nobis in hunc campum descendere libet, &c.* We should (saith he) presume of an easie victory, should wee thus dally with congruities, as doe those of *Rome*. Hence we conclude, that by the light of *Scripture*, wee finde not any thing in nature, why either every *seventh day* should; or every *second day* should not be a *Sabbath*. Not to say any thing of the other numbers, of which the like might be affirmed, if we would trouble our selves about it.

(12) Its true, this trike of trading in the mysteries of numbers, is of long standing in the Church, and of no lesse

Contra Spolar.
cap. 30.

In Gen. hom. 24.

De Civit. Dei,
l. 1. c. 32.

lesse danger : first borrowed from the *Platonists* and the *Pythagoreans*, by the ancient Hereticks, *Marcion*, *Valentinus*, *Basilides*, and the rest of that damned crew; the better to disguise their errours, and palliate their impieties. Some of the Fathers afterwards took up the devise, perhaps to foile the Hereticks at their own weapons: though many of them purposely declined it. Sure I am, *Chrysostom* dislikes it. Who on those words in the seventh of *Genesis*, by *seven* and by *seven* (which is the number now debated) doth instruct us thus. Πολλοὶ γὰρ πάλαι περὶ τῆς μυριάδος, καὶ ἐντεῦθεν ἀφορμὴν λαμβάνοντες παρατηρήσεις ἀειθρῶν ἐπιδείκνυνται, &c. Many (saith he) do tell strange matters of this fact, and taking an occasion hence, make many observations out of severall numbers. Whereas not observation, but onely an unreasonable curiositie, hath produced those fictions, Ὅθεν καὶ αἱ πλείους τῶν αἱρέσεων ἐτέχθησαν, from whence so many heresies had their first originall. For oftentimes (that out of our abundance we may fit their fancies) wee finde the even or equall number, no lesse commemorated in holy Scripture; as when God sent out his Disciples by *two*, and *two*: when he chose *twelve* Apostles, and left *four* Evangelists. But these things it were needlesse to suggest to you, who have so many times been lessened, τοῖς πλείστοις ἀποφράττω τοὺς ἀκοῆς, to stop your eares against such follies. Saint *Augustine* also, though hee had descanted a while upon the mysteries of this number: yet hee cuts off himselfe, in the very middle, as it were; *Nescientiolum suam leviter magis quam utiliter, jactare velle videatur*; lest hee should seeme to shew his reading, with more pride, then profit. And thereupon hee gives this excellent rule, which I could wish had beene more practised in this case; *Habenda est itaque ratio moderationis & gravitatis, ne forte cum de numero multum loquimur, mensuram & pondus negligere judicemur*. We must not take saith hee, so much heed of numbers, that wee forget

“ get at the last, both weight and measure. And this we should the rather do, because that generally there is no rule laid down, or any reason to be given in nature, why some particular numbers have been set apart for particular uses, when other numbers might have served: why *Jericho* should be rather compassed *seven* times, then *six* or *eight*; why *Abraham* rather trained three hundred and eightene of his servants, then three hundred and twenty, or why his servant took ten Camels with him into *Padan Aram*, and not more or lesse: with infinite others of this kinde, in the *Law Leviticall*. Yet I deny not, but that some reason may be given, why in the Scripture, things are so often ordered by *sevens* and *sevens*: viz. as *Justin Martyr* tells ἡν αὐτοὶ οὐκ ἔχουσιν ἢ μνήμην τῆς τοῦ κόσμου ποιήσεως, the better to preserve the memory of the worlds Creation. Another reason may be added, which is, by this inculcating of the number of *seven*, unto the *Jews*, to make that people, who otherwise were at first averse from it, as before I noted, continually mindfull of the *Sabbath*: *Numerum septenarium propter Sabbatum Iudæis familiarem esse*, being the observation of *S. Hierom*. To draw this point unto an end, It is apparant by what hath before been spoken, that there is no *Sabbath* to be found in the beginning of the World, or mentioned as a thing done, in the 2. of *Genesis*, either on any strength of the Text it selfe; or by immediate ordinance and command from God, collected from it; or by the law and light of nature, imprinted in the soule of man, at his first creation: much lesse by any naturall fitness in the number of *seven*, whereby it was most capable, in it selfe, of so high an honour. Which first premised, we shall the easier see, what hath been done in point of practice.

Respons. ad qu.
69.

In Isa. 4.



CHAP. II.

That there was no SABBATH kept, from
the Creation, to the Flood.

(1) Gods rest upon the seventh day, and from what he rested. (2) Zanchius conceit touching the sanctifying of the first seventh day, by Christ our Saviour. (3) The like of Tornielus, touching the sanctifying of the same, by the Angels in heaven. (4) A generall demonstration that the Fathers before the Law, did not keep the Sabbath. (5) Of Adam, that he kept not the Sabbath. (6) That Abel, and Seth did not keep the Sabbath. (7) Of Enos, that he kept not the Sabbath. (8) That Enoch and Methusalem did not keep the Sabbath. (9) Of Noah, that he kept not the Sabbath. (10) The Sacrifices and devotions of the Ancients were occasionall.

(1)



W little ground there is, whereon to build the originall of the Sabbath, in the second of Genesis, we have at large declared in the former Chapter. Yet we deny not but that Text affords us a sufficient intimation of the equity and reason of it, which is Gods rest upon that day, after all his works that he had made. Not as once Celsus did object against the

Origen contra
Cels. l. 6.

the Christians of his time, as if the Lord, ὡς περ ἡ ἀρε. ἡ αὐτὴ ποιεῖς χειροτέχνη, &c. like to some dull Artificer, was weary of his labours, and had need of sleepe: for he spake the word onely, and all things were made. There went no greater labour to the whole Creation, then a *Dixit Dominus*. Therefore Saint Austin rightly noteth, *nec cum creavit defessus, nec cum cessavit refectus est*; that God was neither weary of working, nor refreshed with resting. The meaning of the Text is this, that hee desisted then, from adding any thing, *de novo*, unto the World by him created: as having in the six former dayes, fashioned the Heaven and Earth, and every thing in them contained; and furnished them with all things necessary, both for use and ornament. I say, from adding any thing, *de novo*, unto the World by him created; but not from governing the same: which is a worke by us as highly to be prized, as the first Creation; and from the which God never resteth. *Sabbaths* and all dayes are alike in respect of providence: in reference to the universall government of the World and Nature. *Semper videmus Deum operari, & Sabbathum nullum est in quo Deus non operetur, in quo non producat Solem suum super bonos & malos.* No Sabbath, whereon God doth rest from the administration of the World by him created, whereon hee doth not make his Sun to shine both on good and bad; whereon he rains not plenty, upon the sinner and the just, as Origen hath truly noted. Nor is this more, then what our Saviour said in his holy Gospel. *I work (saith he) and my Father also worketh.* A saying, as Saint Austin notes, at which the Jews were much offended, our Saviour meaning by thole words that God rested not, *nec ullum sibi cessationis statuisse diem*, and that there was no day wherein he tended not the preservation of the creature: and therefore for his owne part, hee would not cease from doing his Fathers businesse, *no Sabbatis quidem*, no though it were upon the Sabbath. By which it seemeth

De Gen. ad lit.
l. 4. c. 14.

Rom. 13. in
Nam.

Contra Faustum
Mat. l. 16. c. 6.

meth, that when the *Sabbath* was observed, and that if still it were in force, it was not then, and would not be unlawfull unto any, now, to look to his estate on the Sabbath day; and to take care, that all things thrive and prosper which belong unto him: though hee increase it not, or adde thereto by following, on that day, the works of his daily labour. And this according to their rules, who would have Gods example so exactly followed, in the Sabbaths rest: who rested, as we see, from creation onely, not from preservation. So that the rest here mentioned, was as before I said, no more then a cessation or a leaving off, from adding any thing, as then, unto the World by him created. Vpon which ground, hee afterwards designed this day for his *holy Sabbath*, that so by his example the *Jewes* might learne to rest from their worldly labours; and bee the better fitted to meditate on the workes of God, and to commemorate his goodnesse manifested in the Worlds Creation.

(2) Of any other *sanctification* of this day, by the Lord our God, then that he rested on it now, and after did command the *Jewes*, that they should sanctifie the same; we have no *Comfat* in the Scriptures: no nor in any Author, that I have met with, untill *Zanchies* time. Indeed he tels us, a large story of his own making, how God the Sonne came down to *Adam*, and sanctified this first Sabbath with him; that hee might know the better how to doe the like. *Ego quidem non dubito, &c.* I little doubt, saith hee, (I will speake onely what I thinke, without wrong or prejudice to others, I little doubt) but that the Sonne of God, taking the shape of man upon him was busied all this day in most holy conferences with *Adam*; that he made known himselfe both to him, and *Eve*; taught them the order that he used in the Worlds Creation; exhorted them to meditate on these glorious works; in them to prayle the Name of God, acknowledging him for their Creatour; & after his example, to

*De creat. homi-
nis l. ad finem.*

spend

“ spend that day for ever, in these pious exercises. I doubt
 “ not, finally, saith he, but that he taught them on that day
 “ the whole bodie of Divinitie: and that hee held them
 “ busied all day long, in hearing him, and celebrating
 “ with due prayes their Lord and God; & giving thanks
 “ unto him for so great and many benefits, as God had
 “ graciously vouchsafed to bestow upon them. Which
 “ said, hee shuts up all with this conclusion. *Hac est*
 “ *illius septimi diei benedictio & sanctificatio, in qua*
 “ *filius Dei una cum patre & spiritu sancto, quievit ab*
 “ *opere quod fecerat.* This was (saith hee) the blessing
 “ and sanctifying of that seventh day, wherein the Sonne
 “ of God, together with the Father, and the Holy Ghost,
 “ did rest from all the workes which they had made.
 How *Zanchie* thwarts himselfe in this, we shall see here-
 after. Such strange conceptions, though they miscarry
 not in the birth: yet commonly they serve to no other
 use, then monsters in the workes of nature, to be seene
 and shewne; with wonder at all times, and sometimes
 with pitie. Had such a thing occurred in *Pet. Comestors*
supplement, which he made unto the Bible, it had been
 more tolerable. The *Legendaries* and the *Rabbins* might
 fairely also have beene excused, if any such devise had
 been extant in them. The gravity of the man makes the
 Tale more pitifull, though never the more to be regarded.
 For certainly, had there beene such a weighty conference
 between God & man; & so much tending to information,
 & instruction: it is not probable, but that we should have
 heard therof in the holy Scriptures. And finding nothing
 of it there, it were but unadvisedly done, to take it on the
 word & credit of a private man. *Non credimus; quia non*
legimus, This we beleeve not, because we read it not, was
 in some points Saint *Hieroms* rule; and shall now be ours.
 (3) As little likelihood there is, that the *Angels* did
 observe this day, and sanctifie the same to the Lord their
 God: yet some have beene so venturous, as to affirme
 it.

D

See n. 5.

Aaral. d 7.

it. Sure I am *Torniellus* saith it. And though he seeme to have some Authours, upon whom to cast it; yet his approving of it, makes it his, as well as theirs who first devised it. *Quidam non immerito existimarunt hoc ipso die in Caelis, omnes Angelorum choros, speciali quadam exultatione in Dei laudes prorupisse, quod tam praeclarum & admirabile opus absolvisset.* Some men have thought, saith he, and that not improbably, that on this day the *Quire* of *Angels* in the Heavens, brake out into the prayle of God, in a speciall manner; in honour of that excellent and admirable work, which he then had perfected. Nay hee, and they, who ever they were, have a Scripture for it; even Gods words to *Iob*: *Where wast thou when I laid the foundations of the earth; when the morning stars sang together, and all the sonnes of God shouted for joy?* Who, and from whence those *Quidam* were, that so interpreted Gods words, I could never finde; and yet have tooke some paines to seeke it. Sure I am, Saint *Austin* makes a better use of them, and comes home indeed unto the meaning. Some men, it seemes, affirmed that the *Angels* were not made, till after the six dayes were finished, in which all things had been created: and he referres them to this Text for their confutation. Which being repeated, he concludes. *Iam ergo erant Angeli, quando facta sunt sydera; facta autem sunt sydera die quarto.* "Therefore (saith hee) the *Angels* were created before the *Starres*; and on the fourth day were the *Starres* created. Yet *Zanchinus*, and those *Quidam*, be they who they will, fell short a little of another conceit of *Philos*, who tels us that the *Sabbath* had a priviledge above other dayes, not onely from the first Creation of the World (though that had beene enough to set out the *Sabbath*:) *ἀλλὰ ὅτι ἐπὶ τῆς ἐξουσίας καὶ πατρὸς διδόντι μισθόν,* but even before the Heavens and all things visible were created. If so it must be sanctified by the *holy Trinitie*, without the *tongues of men and Angels*: and God, not having

De Civit. Dei,
l. 11, c. 9.De vita Moysis
lib. 3.

having worked, must rest; and sanctifie a time, when no time was. But to returne to *Torniellus*, however thole *Quidam* did mislead him, and make him thinke that the first *Sabbath* had been sanctified by the holy *Angels*; yet hee ingenuously confesseth, that sanctifying of the *Sabbath* here upon the earth, was not in use till very many ages after, not till the Law was given by *Moses*. *Verumtamen in terris ista sabbati sanctificatio non nisi post multa saecula in usum venisse creditur, nimirum temporibus Moysis, quando sub praecepto data est filiis Israel.* So *Torniellus*.

Aaral. d. 7.

(4) So *Torniellus*, and so farre unquestionable. For that there was no *Sabbath* kept amongst us men, till the times of *Moses*, the *Christian Fathers* generally, and some *Rabbins* also, have agreed together. Which that we may the better shew, I shall first let you see what they say in generall, and after what they have delivered of particular men, most eminent in the whole story of Gods Booke, untill the giving of the Law. And first that never any of the *Patriarkes* before *Moses* time, did observe the *Sabbath*, *Iustin the Martyr* hath assured us; *Τὸς ἀπὸ Μωϋσέως καὶ Ἀβραάμ διγίους, καὶ ἐναέλους θεῶ γενόμενος, καὶ τε ἀνθρώπων περὶ τετυμμένους, καὶ τε τὰ σάββατα φυλάξαντας.* None of the righteous men, saith he, and such as walked before the Lord, were either circumcised, or kept the *Sabbath*, untill the severall times of *Abraham* and *Moses*. And where the *Iewes* were scandalized, in that the *Christians* did eat hot meats on the *Sabbath* dayes: the *Martyr* makes reply, that the said just and righteous men, not taking heed of any such observances, *μεμαρτύρηται ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ αὐτῶν, obtained a notable testimony of the Lord himselfe.* So *Irenaeus*, having first told us that *Circumcision*, and the *Sabbath*, were both given for *signes*; and having (poke particularly of *Abraham*, *Noah*, *Lor*, and *Enoch*, that they were justified without them: addes for the close of all, that all the multitude of the faithfull before *Abraham*, were justified

Dial. cum Tryph.

Adv. haer. l. 4.
c. 30.

Adv. Iudeos.

Hist. l. c. 4.

Cap. 6.

Adv. hereses
l. 2. c. 5.

without the one; *Et Patriarcharum eorum qui ante Mo-
sen fuerunt*, and all the *Patriarches* which preceded *Mo-
ses*, without the other. *Tertullian* next, disputeth thus a-
gainst the *Jewes*, that they which think the *Sabbath* must
be still observed, as necessary to salvation; or Circumcisi-
on to be used upon pain of death: *Doceant in præteritum
justos sabbatizasse, aut circumcidisse, & sic amicos Dei ef-
fectos esse*; ought first of all, saith hee, to prove, *That the
Fathers of the former times were circumcised, or kept the
Sabbath, or that thereby they did obtaine to be accounted
the friends of God.* Then comes *Eusebius* the Historian,
and he makes it good, that the Religion of the Patriarchs
before *Moses* Law, was nothing different from the Chri-
stian: and how prooves hee that? *ἔτι ἐν αὐτοῖς σώματα
περιτομῆς ἔμελλον, ὅτι οὐδὲ ἡμῶν ἡ σαββατων ἐπιτηδεύσεως, ὅτι
οὐδὲ ἡμῶν.* They were not circumcised, no more are we; they
kept not any Sabbath, no more doe wee: they were not bound
to abstinence from sundry kinds of meats, which are prohi-
bited by *Moses*; nor are wee neither. Where still observe
how constantly these severall Fathers ranke Circumcision
and the Sabbath, in one ranke or order: which shew-
eth they thought them both of the same condition. This
or the like argument doth he also use to the self-same pur-
pose, in his first Booke, *de demonstrat. Evangel.* and
sixth Chapter. And in his seventh, *de preparatione*,
he resolves it thus, *Ἐβραῖοι δὲ ἀπιστοῦντες Μωσέως τοῖς χρί-
μασι, &c.* The Hebrewes which preceded *Moses*, and
were quite ignorant of his Law (whereof hee makes the
Sabbath an especiall part) disposed their wayes according
to a voluntary kind of piety, *βίω μὲν τῷ καὶ τῶ εὖσιν κα-
κοσμημένοι*, framing their lives and actions to the law of
nature. This argument is also used by *Epiphanius*, who
speaking of the first ages of the World, informes us this,
that then there was no difference among men, in matters
of opinion; no *Judaisme*, nor kind of heresie whatsoever:
ἀλλ' ἡ νῦν πίστις, ἐμπολιτευομένη ἐν τῇ ἀρετῇ ἀγία τῷ θεῷ
κα.

καθολικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἔσται, &c. but that the faith which
doth now flourish in Gods Church, was from the begin-
ning. If so, no Sabbath was observed in the times of
old, because none in his. I could enlarge my Catalogue, but
that some testimonies are to be reserved to another place:
when I shall come to shew you, that the commandment
of the Sabbath was published to Gods people, by *Moses*
only; and that to none but to the *Jewes*. After so many
of the Fathers, the moderne Writers may perhaps seeme
unnecessary; yet take one or two. First, *Musculus*, (as
“ Doctour *Bouund* informes me, for I take his word) who
“ tels us that it cannot be proved that the Sabbath was
“ kept before the giving of the Law, either from *Adam*
“ to *Noah*, or from the Flood to the times of *Moses*, or
“ of *Abraham* and his Posteritie. Which is no more then
what wee shall see shortly out of *Eusebius*. *Hospinian*
next, who though he saine would have the sanctifying of
the Sabbath, to be as old as the beginning of the World;
yet he confesseth at the last, *Patres idcirco Sabbatum ob-
“ servasse ante legem, &c.* that for all that it cannot bee
“ made good by the Word of God, that any of the Fa-
“ thers did observe it, before the Law. These two I have
the rather cited, because they have been often vouched in
the present controversie, as men that wished well to the
cause, and say somewhat in it.

(5) We are now come unto particulars. And first we
must begin with the first man *Adam*. The time of his
Creation, as the Scriptures tels us, the first day of the week,
being as *Scaliger* conjectured in the first Edition of his
Work, the three and twentieth day of *April*; and so the
first Sabbath, *Sabbatum primum*, so hee calls it, was the
four and twentieth. *Petavins*, by his computation, makes
the first Sabbath to be the first day of *November*; and
Scaliger, in his last Edition, the five and twentieth of
October: more neere to one another then before they
were. Yet saith not *Scaliger*, that that *primum Sabbatum*
had

See Ch 4.

2. Edit p 12.

De festis l. cap. 3

Emend. temp.
l 5.Doctrina temp.
l. 4. c. 6.

had any reference to *Adam*, though first hee left it so at large, that probably some might so conceive it: for in his later thoughts he declares his meaning to be this, *Sabbatum primum in quo Deus requievit ab opere Hexaemeri*: the first Sabbath on the which God rested from his sixe dayes worke. Indeed the *Chaldee Paraphrase* seemes to affirme of *Adam*, that he kept the Sabbath. For where the 92 Psalm doth beare this Title, *A Song or Psalm for the Sabbath day*: the Authours of that Paraphrase doe expound it thus. *Laud & Canticum quod dixit homo primus pro die Sabbati*, the Song or Psalm which *Adam* said for the Sabbath day. Somewhat more wary in this point was *Rabbi Kimchi*, who tels us how that *Adam* was created upon Friday about three of the clock: fell at eleven, was censured and driven out of *Paradise* at twelve; that all the residue of that day, and the following night, he bemoaned his miseries, was taken into grace next morning, being Sabbath day; and taking then into consideration all the works of God, in similia istius Psalmi verba prorupisse, brake out into words as are there recorded. A tale that hath as much foundation, as that narration of *Zanchy*, before remembred. Who though hee seeme to put the matter out of doubt, with his three *non dubito's*, that *Christ* himselfe did sanctifie the first Sabbath, with our Father *Adam*; and did command him ever after to observe that day: yet in another place, hee makes it onely a matter of probability, that the commandement of the Sabbath, was given at all to our first parents. *Quomodo autem sanctificavit? Non solum decreto & voluntate, sed re ipsa, quia illum diem, (ut non pauci volunt & probabile est) mandavit primis parentibus sanctificandum.* How did God sanctifie that day, saith hee? Not onely by decree or designation, but in very deed; in that, as not a few conceive, and probable it is that it may be so, hee did command it to be kept by our first Parents. So easily doth he overthrow his former structure: making that there to be onely

in 4. mandati.

onely probable, which formerly hee had affirmed to be unquestionable. But to return unto the *Rabbins*, and this dreame of theirs, besides the strangeness of the thing, that *Adam* should continue not above eight houres in *Paradise*, and yet give names to all the creatures, fall into such an heavy sleepe, and have the woman taken out of him; that she must be instructed, tempted, and that both must sinne, and both must suffer in so short a time: besides all this, the Christian Fathers are expresse, that *Adam* never kept the Sabbath. *Iustine the Martyr*, in his Dialogue with *Trypho*, a learned Jew, makes *Adam* one of those, *οἱ μὴ περιτομίζοντες*, &c. *τῷ θεῷ ἐυχέμενοι*, which being neither circumcised, nor keeping any Sabbath, were yet accepted by the Lord. And so *Tertullian* in a Treatise written against the *Jewes*, affirms of *Adam*, *quod nec circumcisum, nec sabbatizantem, Deus eum instituerit*: That God did institute and direct him, being neither circumcised, nor a Sabbath-keeper. Nay, which is more, he makes a challenge to the *Jewes*, to prove unto him, if they could, that *Adam* ever kept the Sabbath. *Doceant Adamum sabbatizasse*, as hee there hath it, Which doubtlesse neither of them would have done, considering with whom the one disputed, and against whom the other wrote: had they not beene very well assured of what they said. The like may be affirmed both of *Eusebius*, and *Epiphanius*, two most learned Fathers. Whereof the first, maintaining positively that the Sabbath was first given by *Moses*, makes *Adam* one of those, which neither troubled himselfe with Circumcision, *ὅτι τῶν Μωσέως Ἰουδαίων ἀπαρχῶν λαμπῶν*, nor any of the Lawes of *Moses*: The other reckoneth him amongst those also, who lived according to that Faith, which when he wrote, was generally received in the Christian Church. Therefore no Sabbath kept by our Father *Adam*.

(6) But whatsoever *Adam* did, *Abel*, I hope, was more observant of this duty. Thus some have said indeed,

D 4

but

Adv. Iudeos.

De Prepar. Evang. 17. c. 8.

Adv. hereses, l. 1. m. 5.

but on no authority. It is true the Scriptures tell us, that he offered *Sacrifice*: but yet the Scriptures doe not tell us, that in his Sacrifices he had more regard unto the *seventh day*, then to any other. To offer Sacrifice, hee might learne of *Adam*, or of naturall reason, which doth sufficiently instruct us, that we ought, all, to make some publicke testimony, of our subjection to the Lord. But neither *Adam* did observe the *Sabbath*, nor could nature teach it, as before is shewne. And howsoever some Modern Writers have conjectured, and conjectured onely, that *Abel* in his Sacrifices might have respect unto the *Sabbath*: yet those whom we may better trust, have affirm'd the contrary. For *Iustin Martyr* disputing against *Trypho*, brings "*Abel* in for an example; that neither *Circumcision* nor the *Sabbath*, the two great glories of the *Jewes*, were to be counted necessary. For if they were, saith he, God had not had so much regard to *Abels Sacrifice*, being as he was *uncircumcised*: and then hee adds, ὁ μὴ γὰρ περιτομὴν, &c. τὸ θεῷ συνεστήκει, that though hee was no *Sabbath-keeper*, yet was he acceptable unto God. And so *Tertullian*, that God accepted of his Sacrifice, though he were neither *circumcised*, nor kept the *Sabbath*. *Abele* offerentem sacrificia, incircumcisum neque sabbatizantem laudavit Deus, accepta ferens qua in simplicitate cordis offerebat. Yea, and hee brings him also into his challenge, as one of whom the *Jewes* could produce no prooffe, that ever hee observed the *Sabbath*. *Doceant Abel, hostiam Deo sanctam offerentem, Sabbati religionem, placuisse*: which is directly contrary to that, which is conjectured by some Modern Writers. So *Epiphanius* also makes him one of those, who lived according to the tendries of the Christian Faith. The like he also saith of *Seth*, whom God raised up instead of *Abel*, to our Father *Adam*. Therefore no *Sabbath* kept by either.

(7) It is conceived of *Abel*, that he was killed in the one hundred and thirtieth yeare of the Worlds Creation:

of

of *Enos*, *Seths* sonne, that he was borne, Anno two hundred thirty six. And till that time there was no *Sabbath*. But then, as some conceive, the *Sabbath* day began to be had in honour, because it is set downe in Scripture, that then began men to call upon the Name of the Lord. "That is, as *Torniellus* descants upon the place, then, "were spirituall Congregations instituted, as we may "probably conjecture, certaine set formes of prayers "and Hymnes devised to set forth Gods glory, certaine "set times and places also set apart for those pious duties: *precipue diebus Sabbati*, especially on the *Sabbath* dayes, in which, most likely, they began to abstaine from all servile works, in honour of that God, "whom they well knew had rested on the seventh day "from all his labours. Sure *Torniellus* minde was upon his *Matins*, when he made this paraphrase. He had not else gathered a *Sabbath* from this Text, considering that not long before, he had thus concluded; *That sanctifying of the Sabbath here on earth was not in use, untill the Law was given by Moses*. But certainly this Text will beare no such matter, were it considered as it ought. The *Chaldee Paraphrase* thus reades it, *Tunc in diebus ejus incoperunt filii hominum, ut non orarent in nomine Domini*; then in those dayes began the sonnes of men, not to addresse their invocations to the name of God: which is quite contrary to the *English*. Our Bibles of the last Translation in the margin, thus; *Then began men to call themselves by the name of the Lord*: and generally the *Jews*, as Saint *Hierome* tels us, do thus glosse upon it, *Tunc primum in nomine Domini, & in similitudine ejus, fabricata sunt idola*; that then began men to set up idols both in the name, and after the similitude of God. *Ainsworth* in his Translation thus, *Then began men prophane-ly to call upon the Name of the Lord*: who tels us also in his *Annotations* on this Text, out of *Rabbi Maimony*, that in these dayes *Idolatry* tooke its first beginning, and the

Gen. 4.

Annal. Anno

236. 4.

Gen. 3. of this Chapter.

Qu. hebraic. in Gen.

Adv. Judaeos.

Adv. haereticos. 75.

the people worshipped the starres and all the host of Heaven; so generally that at the last there were few left which acknowledged God, as Enoch, Methuselah, Noah, Sem, and Heber. So that we see not any thing in this Text, sufficient to produce a Sabbath. But take it as the English reads it, which is agreeable to the Greeke, and vulgar Latine; and may well stand with the originall: yet will the cause be little better. For men might call upon Gods Name, and have their publicke meetings and set formes of Prayer, without relation to the seventh day more then any other. As for this of Enos, Eusebius proposeth him unto us, *ὡς ἀρῶτον Θεοφιλῶν*, as the first man commended in the Scripture for his love to God: that we by his example might learne to call upon Gods Name with assured hope. But yet withall he tels us of him, that he observed not any of those ordinances which Moses taught unto the Jews; whereof the Sabbath was the chiefe; as formerly we observed in Adam: And Epiphanius ranks him amongst those Fathers, who lived according to the rules of the Christian Church. Therefore no Sabbath kept by Enos.

(8) We will next looke on Enoch, who, as the Text tels us, *walked with God*, and therefore doubt we not, but he would carefully have kept the Sabbath, had it beene required. But of him also, the Fathers generally say the same, as they did before of others. For Justin Martyr not onely makes him one of those, which without Circumcision and the Sabbath, had beene approved of by the Lord: but pleads the matter more exactly. The substance of his plea is this, that if the Sabbath, or circumcision, were to be counted necessary to eternall life, we must needs fall upon this absurd opinion, *ὡς τὸ αὐτὸ Θεὸν εἶναι, τὸ καὶ τὸν Ἐνὼχ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους πάντας*, that the same God whom the Jews worshipped, was not the God of Enoch, and of other men about those times: which neither had beene circumcised, *μηδὲ σάββατον*

De Preparat.
Evangel. 1.7; 8.

Dial. cum Try-
phone.

καταέφυλαξαν, nor kept the Sabbath, nor any other ordinances of the Law of Moses. So Irenaeus speaking before of Circumcision and the Sabbath, placeth this Enoch among those, *qui sine iis quae praedicta sunt justificationem adepti sunt*, which had beene justified without any the ordinances before remembred. Tertullian more fully yet. *Enoch iustissimum nec circumcisum, nec sabbatizantem, de hoc mundo transtulit, &c.* Enoch that righteous man, being neither circumcised nor a Sabbath-keeper, was by the Lord translated, and saw not death, to be an Item or instruction unto us, that we, without the burden of the Law of Moses, shall be found acceptable unto God. He sets him also in his challenge, as one whom never any of the Iewes could prove, *Sabbati cultorem esse*, to have beene a keeper of the Sabbath. Eusebius too, who makes the Sabbath one of Moses institutions, hath said of Enoch, that he was neither circumcised, nor medled with the Law of Moses: *ἀνὴρ δὲ χριστιανικῶς, ἀλλ' οὐκ Ἰουδαϊκῶς, &c.* and that he lived more like a Christian, than a Jew. The same Eusebius in his seventh de preparatione, and Epiphanius in the place before remembred, affirme the same of him, as they do of Adam, Abel, Seth, and Enos: and what this Epiphanius saith of him, that he affirms also of his sonne, Methusalem. Therefore not Enoch, nor Methusalem ever kept the Sabbath. Its true, the Ethiopians in their Calendar, have a certaine period, which they call *Sabbatum Enoch, Enoch's sabbath*. But this consisteth of seven hundred yeares, and hath that name, either because Enoch was borne in the seventh Century from the Creation, viz. in the yeare six hundred twenty two, or because he was the seventh from Adam. Its true, that many of the Iewes, and some Christians too, have made this Enoch an Embleme of the heavenly and eternall Sabbath, which shall never end: because he was the seventh from Adam, and did never taste of death, as did the six that went

Lib. 4. ca. 30.

Adv. Iudeos.

De Demonstr. l.
4 c. 6.

Scal. de Emend.
Temp. l. 7.

Beda in Gen. 4.

went before him. But this is no Argument, I trow, that *Enoch* ever kept the *sabbath*, whiles he was alive. Note that this *Enoch* was translated about the yeare nine hundred eighty seven: and that *Abelhusalem* died but one yeare onely before the Floud, which was 1655. And so farre we are safely come, without any rub.

(9) To come unto the Floud it selfe, to *Noah*, who both saw it, and escaped it; it is affirmed by some, that he kept the *sabbath*: and that both in the Arke, and when he was released out of it, if not before. Yea, they have arguments also for the prooffe hereof, but very weak ones: such as they dare not trust themselves. It is delivered in the eighth of the Booke of *Genesis*, that after the returne of the *Dove* into the Arke, *Noah* stayed yet other seven dayes, before he sent her forth againe. What then?

Vers. 10 & 12.

De Astuc. 3.

This seemes unto *Hosfinian* to be an argument for the *sabbath*. In *historia diluvii, columba ex arca emissa septenario dierum intervallo, ratione sabbati videntur*. So he, and so verbatim, *Iofias Simler*, in his Comment on the twentieth of *Exodus*. But to this argument, if at the least it may be honoured with that name, *Tostatus* hath returned an answer as by way of propheticie. He makes this *Quare* first, *sed quare ponit hic, quod Noe expectabat semper septem dies, &c.* Why *Noah*, betwixt every sending of the *Dove*, expected just seven dayes, neither more nor lesse: and then returnes this answer to it, such as indeed doth excellently satisfie both his owne *Quare*, and the present argument. "*Resp. quod* *Noah* intended to scire, utrum aqua cessasset, &c. *Noah* (saith he) desired to know whether the waters were decreased. Now since the waters being a moyst body, are regulated by the Moone, *Noah* was most especially to regard her motions: for as she is either in opposition, or conjunction, with the Sunne, in her increase or falling of the waters. *Noah* then considering the Moone

In Gen. 8.

" Moone in her severall quarters, which commonly we know are at seven dayes distance, sent forth his Birds to bring him tydings: for the Text tels us that he sent out the *Raven* and the *Dove* foure times. And the fourth time, the Moone being then in the last quarter, when both by the ordinary course of nature the waters usually are, and by the will of God were then much decreased: the *Dove* which was sent out had found good footing on the earth, and returned no more. So farre the learned *Abulensis*; which makes cleare the case. Nor stand we onely here, upon our defence. For we have prooffe sufficient that *Noah* never kept the *Sabbath*. *Justin* the Martyr, and *Irenaeus* both, make him one of those, which without *circumcision* and the *Sabbath*, were very pleasing unto God, and also justified without them. *Tertullian*, positively saith it, that God delivered him from the great water floud, *Nec circumcisum, nec sabbatizantem*; being neither *circumcised*, nor a *Sabbath-keeper*: and challengeth the *Jews* to prove, if any way they could, *sabbatum observasse*, that he kept the *Sabbath*. *Eusebius* also tels us of him, that being a just man, and one whom God preserved as a remaining sparke to kindle pietie in the World, yet knew not any thing that pertained to the *Jewish* Ceremony: not *Circumcision*, *ἔτε ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς καὶ Μωϋσῆος διατετυγμένοις*, nor any other thing ordained by *Moses*. Remember that *Eusebius* makes the *Sabbath* one of *Moses* ordinances. Finally, *Epiphanius* in the place before remembred, ranks *Noah* in this particular, with *Adam*, *Abel*, *Seth*, *Enos*, and the other *Patriarchs*. Therefore no *sabbath* kept by *Noah*.

Vbi supra.

Adv. Judeos.

De demonstr. l. 1. c. 6.

(10) Its true, that *Ioseph Scaliger* once made the day, whereon *Noah* left the Arke, and offered sacrifice to the Lord, to be the seventh day of the weeke: *Decembris 28, feria septima, egressus Noah, οὐθὲν ἐνχαριστήναι immolavit Deo*, saith his first Edition. Which were enough to

De Emend. temp. l. 5.

to cause some men, who infinitely admire his Dictates, from thence to have derived a *sabbath*: had he not changed his minde in the next Edition, and placed this memorable action, not on the *seventh* day, but the *fourth*. I say it might have caused some men, for all men would not so have doted, as from a speciall accident to conclude a practice. Considering especially that there is no ground in Scripture to prove that those before the Law, had in their sacrifices, any regard at all to set times and dayes: either unto the sixth day, or the seventh, or eighth, or any other: but did their service to the Lord, I meane the publicke part thereof, and that which did consist in externall action, according as occasion was administred unto them. The offerings of *Cain* and *Abel*, for ought we can informe our selves, were not very frequent. The Scripture tels us that it was in *processe of time*; at the yeares end, as some expound it. For at the yeares end, as *Ainsworth* noteth; men were wont in most solemne manner, to offer *sacrifice* unto God, with thanks for all his benefits, having then gathered in their fruits. The Law of *Moses* so commanded; the ancient Fathers so observed it, as by this place we may conjecture: and so it was accustomed too among the *Gentiles*; their ancient Sacrifices and their Assemblies to that purpose, (as *Aristotle* hath informed us) being after the gathering in offruits. No day selected for that use, that we can heare of. This sacrifice of *Noah*, as it was remarkable, so it was occasionall: an *Eucharisticall Oblation* for the great deliverance, which did that day befall unto him. And had it happened on the seventh day, it were no argument that he made choice thereof, as most fit and proper; or that he used to sacrifice more upon that day, then on any other. So that of *Abraham* in the twelfth of *Genesis*, was occasionall onely. The Lord appeared to *Abraham* saying, *Unto thy seed will I give this land* (the land of *Canaan*.) And then it followeth, that *Abraham* builded there

Gen. 4. 3.

Exod. 23. 16.

Etbid. 8.

Gen. 12. 7.

there an *Altar unto the Lord*, who appeared unto him. The like he did when he first set his footing in the promised Land, and pitched his Tents not farre from *Bethel*, *V. 8* *Vers. 8.* and when he came to plant in the Plain of *Mamre*, in the next Chapter. See the like, *Gen. 21. 33. & 22. 13. Of Isaac, Gen. 26. 25. Of Jacob, Gen. 28. 3. & 31. 54. & 33. 20. & 35. 7, 14.* No mention in the Scripture of any Sacrifice, or publick worship, but the occasion is set downe. *Hec ratio naturalis dicitur, ut de donis suis honoretur imprimis ipse qui dedit.* Natural reason, saith *Rupertus*, could instruct them, that God was to be honoured with some part of that, which he himselve had given unto them: but naturall reason did not teach them, that one day differed from another.

In Gen 8. 20.

CHAP.



CHAP. III.

That the SABBATH was not kept from
the Flood to Moses.

- (1) *The sonnes of Noah did not keepe the Sabbath.*
 (2) *The Sabbath could not have been kept, in the dispersion of Noahs sonnes, had it been commanded.* (3) *Diversity of Longitudes and Latitudes, must of necessity make a variation in the Sabbath.* (4) *Melchisedek, Heber, Lot, did not keepe the Sabbath.* (5) *Of Abraham and his sonnes, that they kept not the Sabbath* (6) *That Abraham did not keepe the Sabbath, in the confession of the Iewes.* (7) *Iacob, nor Iob, no Sabbath-keepers.* (8) *That neither Ioseph, Moses, nor the Israelites in Egypt, did observe the Sabbath.* (9) *The Israelites not permitted to offer Sacrifice, while they were in Egypt.* (10) *Particular proofs, that all the Morall Law was both knowne, and kept, amongst the Fathers.*

(1)



EE are now come unto the hither side of the Flood, to the sonnes of Noah. To whom, the Hebrew Doctors say, their Father did bequeath seven severall Commandements, which they and their Posterity were bound to keepe.

Sep.

Septem precepta acceperunt filii Noah, &c. as Schindler reckoneth them out of Rabbi Maimony. First, That they dealt uprightly with every man; Secondly, That they should blesse and magnifie the Name of God; Thirdly, that they abstained from worshipping false gods, and from all Idolatry; Fourthly, That they forbore all unlawfull lusts and copulations; The fifth, against shedding blood; The sixth, against theft and robbery: The seventh and last, a prohibition not to eat the flesh, or any member of a beast, taken from it when it was alive; whereby all cruelty was forbidden. These precepts whosoever violated, either of Noahs sonnes, or their posterity, was to be smitten with the sword. Yea, these Commandments were reputed to agreeable to nature, that all such Heathens as would yeeld to obey the same, were suffered to remaine and dwell amongst the Israelites; though they received not Circumcision, nor any of the ordinances which were given by Moses. So that amongst the precepts given unto the sonnes of Noah, we finde no footstep of the sabbath. And where a Moderne Writer, whom I spare to name, hath made the keeping of the sabbath, a member of the second precept, or included in it; it was not so advisedly done: there being no such thing at all, either in Schindler, whom he cites; nor in Cuneus, who repeats the self-same precepts, from the self-same Rabbi. Nay, which is more, the Rabbin out of whom they cite it, doth in another place, exclude expressly the observation of the sabbath out of the number of these precepts given the sonnes of Noah. *The man and woman-servant, saith he, which are commanded to keepe the Sabbath, are servants that are circumcised, or baptised, &c. But servants not circumcised nor baptised, but onely such as have received the seven Commandments given to the sonnes of Noah, they are as sojourning strangers, and may do work for themselves openly on the Sabbath, as any Israelite may on a working day.* So Rabbi Maimony

In Lexico, p.
1530.

Cuneus de re-
pub. Hebr. 2. 19.

Ap. Ainsworth
in Exod. 20.

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in

in his Treatise of the *sabbath*, Chap. 20. Sect. 14. So that it seemes, that *sojourners* and *servants*, in the land of *Ierrie*, however they were bound to obserue the seven commandments given the sonnes of *Noah*, were not obliged to keepe the *sabbath*: unless they had beene *circumcised*; or otherwise initiated in the *Iewish* Church, by some kinde of *washing*, as probablie were women *Profelytes*. Which proves sufficiently that the sonnes of *Noah*, were not bound to obserue the *sabbath*. If then we find no *sabbath* amongst the sonnes of *Noah*, whereof some of them were the sonnes of their Fathers pietie: there is no thought of meeting with it, in their children, or their childrens children: the builders of the *Tower of Babel*. For they being terrified with the late Deluge, as some conjecture, and to procure the name of great undertakers, as the Scripture saith; resolved to build themselves a Towre, unto the top whereof, the waters should in no wise reach. A worke of a most vast extent, if we may credit those reports that are made thereof; and followed by the people, as *Iosephus* tels us, with their utmost industry, *there being none amongst them idle*. If none amongst them would be idle; as likely that no day was spared from so great an action, as they conceived that worke to be: Those that durst bid defiance to the heaven of God, were never like to keepe a *sabbath* to the God of Heaven. This action was begun and ended, *Anno* 1940. or thereabouts.

*Antiq. Iud. l. 1.
ca. 5.*

(2) To ruinate these vaine attempts, it pleased the Lord first to confound the language of the people, which before was one; and after to disperse them over all the earth. By means of which dispersion, they could not possibly have kept one and the same day for a *Sabbath*, had it been commanded: the daies in places of a different *longitude*, which is the distance of a place from the first *Meridian*, beginning at such different times, that no one day could be precisely kept amongst them. The prooffe
and

and ground whereof, I will make bold to borrow from my late learned friend *Nath. Carpenter*; that I may manifest, in some sort, the love I bore him: though probably I might have furnished out this argument, from mine owne wardrope: at least have had recourse to many other learned men, who have written of it. For that the difference of time, is varied according to the difference of *longitudes*, in divers places of the earth, may be made manifest to every mans understanding, out of these two principles: First, that the earth is sphericall: and secondly, that the Sunne doth compasse it about, in twenty foure houres. From hence it comes to passe, that places situate *Eastward*, see the Sunne sooner then those do, that are placed *Westward*. And that with such a different proportion of time, that unto every houre of the *Sunnes* motion, there is assigned a certaine number of miles upon the *Earth*: every fifteen degrees, which is the distance of the *Meridians*, being computed to make one houre; and every fiteene miles upon the earth, correspondent to one minute of that houre. By this we may perceive, how soone the noon-tide happeneth in one City before another. For if one City stands *Eastward* of another, the space of three of the aforesaid *Meridians*, which is 2700. miles; it is apparant that it will enjoy the noon-tyde, no lesse then three houres before the other: and consequently in 10800. miles, which is halfe the compasse of the earth, there will be found no lesse then twelve houres difference in the rising and setting of the Sunne, as also in the noon and midnight. The reason of which difference of times, is, as before we said, the difference of *longitudes*, wherein to every houre, *Cosmographers* have allotted 15 degrees in the Sunnes diurnal motion: so that 15 degrees being multiplied by twenty foure houres, which is the naturall day, the product will be 360, which is the number of degrees in the whole circle. Now in these times, wherein the sonnes of *Noah* dispersed themselves, in case

the *Sabbath* was to have been kept, as simply *moral*; it must needs follow, that the *moral Law* is subject unto manifold mutations and uncertainties, which must not be granted. For spreading, as they did, over all the *earth*, some farther, some at shorter distance; and thereby changing *longitudes*, with their habitations: they must of meer necessity alter the difference of times and dayes, and so could keep no day together. Nor could their issue since their time, observe exactly and precisely the self-same day, by reason of the manifold transportation of *Colonies*, and transmigration of Nations, from one Region to another; whereby the times must of necessity be supposed to vary. The Author of the *Practice of Pietie*, though he plead hard for the *moralitie* of the *Sabbath*, cannot but "confesse, that in respect of the diversitie of the *Meridians*, and the unequal rising and setting of the *Sunne*, "every day varieth in some places a quarter, in some "halfe, in others an whole day: therefore the *Iewish Sabbath* cannot (saith he) be precisely kept in the same instant of time, every where in the *World*. Certainly if it cannot now, then it never could: & then it will be found, that some at least of *Noahs* posterity, and all that have from them descended, either did keep at all no *Sabbath*, or not upon the day appointed: which comes all to one. Or else it needs must follow, that God imposed a Law upon his people, which in it selfe without relation to the frailty, *ne dum* to the iniquity of poore man, could not in possibility have been observed: Yea, such a Law, as could not generally have been kept, had *Adam* still continued in his perfect innocence.

(3) To make this matter yet more plaine, It is a *Corollary* or conclusion in *Geographie*, that if two men do take a journey from the self-same place, round about the earth: the one *Eastward*, the other *Westward*, and meet in the same place againe: it will appeare that he which hath gone *East*, hath gotten: and that the other going *West-*

Westward, hath lost a day, in their account. The reason is, because he that from any place assigned doth travell *Eastward*, moving continually against the proper motion of the *Sunne*, will shorten somewhat of his day: taking so much from it, as his journey in proportion of distance from the place assigned, hath first opposed, and so anticipated in that time, the diurnall motion of the *Sun*. So daily gaining something from the length of the day; it will amount in the whole circuit of the *Earth*, to twenty foure houres, which are a perfect naturall day. The other going *Westward*, and seconding the course of the *Sunne* by his owne journey, will by the same reason adde as much proportionably, unto his day, as the other lost, and in the end will lose a day in his account. For demonstration of the which, suppose of these two Travellers, that the former for every fifteene miles, should take away one minute from the length of the day: and the latter adde as much unto it, in the like proportion of his journey. Now by the *Golden Rule*, if every fifteene miles subtract or adde one minute in the length of the day; then must 21600. miles, which is the compass of the *Earth*, adde or subtract 1440 minutes, which make up twenty foures, a just naturall day. To bring this matter home, unto the businesse now in hand, suppose we that a *Turke*, a *Jew*, and a *Christian*, should dwell together at *Jerusalem*, whereof the one doth keepe his *Sabbath* on the *Friday*; the other, on the *Saturday*; and the third sanctifieth the *Sunday*: then, that upon the *Saturday*, the *Turke* begin his journey *Westward*, and the *Christian*, *Eastward*; so as both of them compassing the *World*, do meet again in the same place; the *Jew* continuing where they left him. It will fall out, that the *Turk* by going *Westward*, having lost a day; and the *Christian*, going *Eastward*, having got a day: one and the selfe-same day, will be a *Friday*, to the *Turke*; a *Saturday*, unto the *Jew*; and a *Sunday* to the *Christian*; in case they calculate

the time exactly, from their departure to their returne. To prove this further yet, by a matter of fact. The *Hollanders* in their Discovery of *Fretum le Maire*, Anno 1615. found by comparing their account, at their coming home, that they had clearly lost a day (for they had travelled *Westward*, in that tedious Voyage:) that which was *Munday* to the one, being the *Sunday* to the other. And now what should these people do when they were returned? If they are bound by *nature*, and the *morall law*, to sanctifie precisely one day in *seven*; they must then sanctifie a day apart from their other Countreymen; and like a crew of *Schismatics*, divide themselves from the whole body of the Church: or to keep order, and comply with other men, must of necessity be forced to go against the *law of nature*, or the *morall law*; which ought not to be violated for any by-respect-whatever. But to returne unto *Noahs* sonnes, whom this case concernes; It might, for ought we know, be theirs, in this dispersion, in this removing up and downe, and from place to place. What shall we thinke of those that planted *Northwards*, or as much extremely *Southwards*; whose issue now, are to be found, as in part is knowne, neare and within the *Polar circles*: what *Sabbath* think we could they keepe? Some times a very long one sure, and sometimes none: indeed none at all, taking a *sabbath*, as we do, for one day in *seven*. For neare the *Polar Circles*, as is plainly knowne, the dayes are twenty foure houres in length. Betweene the *Circle* and the *Pole*, the day, if so it may be called, increaseth first by weeks, and at last by moneths; till in the end, there is six moneths perpetuall day, and as long a night. No roome in those parts for a *sabbath*. But it is time to leave these speculations, and returne to practice.

(4) And first we will begin with *Melchisedech*, King of *Salem*, the Priest of the most high God, *Rex idem hominumque divinumque sacerdos*; a type and figure of our Saviour;

Saviour; whose Priesthood still continueth in the holy Gospel. With him the rather, because it is most generally conceived, that he was *Sem* the sonne of *Noah*. Of him it is affirmed by *Iustin Martyr*, that he was neither *circumcised*, nor yet kept the *sabbath*, and yet most acceptable unto God, *Ἀπελτμντ θ' ἵν ὁ ἱερδὶς τῶ ὁμοῦ Μετα-χριστῆν, καὶ μὴ σαββατίζων τῷ Θεῷ εὐαγγελιστῇ.* *Tertullian* also tels us of him, *Incircumcisum nec sabbatizantem ad sacerdotium Dei allectum esse*; that he was called unto the Priesthood, not being *circumcised*, nor an observer of the *sabbath*: and puts him also in his challenge, as one whom none amongst the *Jews* could ever prove to have kept the *Sabbath*. *Eusebius* yet more fully then either

“ of them: *Moses*, saith he, brings in *Melchisedech*

“ Priest of the most high God, neither being *circumci-*

“ *sed*, nor anointed with the holy Oyle, as was after-

“ wards commanded in the Law; *καὶ σαββατον ἢ πότε ὄντι,*

“ *εἰδότε*, no not so much as knowing that there was a

“ *Sabbath*; and ignorant altogether of those ordina-

“ ces, which were imposed upon the *Jews*, and living

“ most agreeably unto the Gospel. Somewhat to that purpose also doth occurre, in his seventh *de preparatione*. *cap. 8.*

Melchisedech, whosoever he was, gave meeting unto *Abraham*, about the yeare of the World, 2118: and if we may suppose him to be *Sem*, as I think we may, he lived till *Isaac* was fifty yeares of age, which was long after this famous interview. Now what these Fathers say of *Sem*, if *Sem* at least was he whom the Scriptures call *Melchisedech*; the same almost is said of his great grand-child *Heber*: he being named by *Epiphanius* for one of those, who lived according to the faith of the *Christian Church*; wherein no *sabbath* was observed in that Fathers time. And here we will take *Lot* in too although a little before his time, as one of the Posterity of *Heber*, that when we come to *Abraham*, we may keepe our selves within his Family. Him, *Iustin Martyr*, and *Irenaeus*

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both

*Dial. cum Try-
phone.
Adv. Judaeos.*

Dem. l. 1. c. 6.

both in the places formerly remembred, make to be one of thole, which without *Circumcision* and the *Sabbath*, were acceptable to the Lord, and by him justified. And so *Tertullian*, that *sine legis observatione, de Sodomorum incendio liberatus est*: that without keeping of the Law, (*sabbaths*, and *circumcision*, and the like) he was delivered from the fire of *Sodom*. Therefore not *Lot*, nor *Heber*, nor *Melchisedech*, ever kept the *sabbath*.

(5) For *Abraham* next, the Father of the Faithfull, with whom the Covenant was made, and *Circumcision*, as a seale, annexed unto it: The Scripture is exceeding copious in setting down his life and actions, as also of the lives and actions of his Sonne, and Nephews, their flittings and removes, their sacrifices, formes of Prayer, and whatsoever else was signall in the whole course of their affaires: but yet no mention of the *sabbath*. Though such a memorable thing, as sanctifying of a constant day unto the Lord, might probably have been omitted in the former Patriarkes, of whom there is but little left, save their names and ages; as if they had been only brought into the story, to make way for him: yet it is strange that in a punctuall and particular relation of his life & piety, there should not be one *Item* to point out the *sabbath*, had it been observed. This is enough to make one thinke there was no such matter. *Et quod non invenis usquam, esse putas usquam*, in the Poets language. I grant indeed, that *Abraham* kept the Christian *sabbath*, in righteousness and holiness serving the Lord his God, all the dayes of his life: and so did *Isaac* and *Jacob*. Sanctificate diem *sabbati*, saith the Prophet *Jeremiah* to the *Jews*, i. e. *ut omne tempus vite nostre in sanctificatione ducamus, sicut fecerunt patres nostri, Abraham, Isaac, & Jacob*, as Saint *Hierome* glosseth it. Our venerable *Bede* also hath affirmed as much, that *Abraham* kept indeed the spirituall *sabbath*, *quo semper a servili, i. e. noxia vacabat actione*, whereby he alwaies rested from the servile works of sin: but that he

in Hier. 17.

in Luk. 19.

he kept or sanctified any other *Sabbath*, the Christian Fathers deny unanimously. *Iustin the Martyr* numbring up the most of those before remembred, concludes; that they, *μὴ συνεσπίζοντες*, were justified without the (*sabbath*: *καὶ κατ' αὐτοὺς Ἀβραάμ, καὶ οἱ τέττα υἱοὶ ἅπαντες μέχρι Μωϋσέως*. & so, saith he, was *Abraham* after them, & al his children untill *Moses*. And whereas *Trypho* had exacted a necessary keeping of the Law, *Sabbaths*, *New-moons*, & *Circumcision*: the *Martyr* makes reply, that *Abraham*, *Isaac*, *Jacob*, *Iob*, & all the other *Patriarks* both before and after them, & untill *Moses* time; yea, and their wives, *Sarah*, *Rebecca*, *Rachel*, *Lea*, and all the rest of religious women unto *Moses* mother, *ὃδὲν ὅλως τέτων ἐρύλαξαν, οὐδὲ ἐντε- λὴν ἔλαβον φυλάξαι, πλὴν τῶ ἀρχῆν λαβύσης ἀπὸ Ἀβρα- ἄμ τῆ πεποιμῆς*. neither kept any of them all, nor had commandement so to do, till *Circumcision* was enjoyed to *Abraham* & his Posterity. So *Irenaeus*, that *Abraham, sine Circumcisione & observatione Sabbatorum credidit Deo, &c.* without or *Circumcision*, or the *Sabbath* did beleieve in God, which was imputed to him for righteousness. And where the *Jews* objected in defence of their ancient Ceremonies, that *Abraham* had beene circumcised: *Tertullian* makes reply, *sed ante placuit Deo quam circumcideretur, nec tamen sabbatizavit*; that hee was acceptable unto God, before his being circumcised; and yet he never kept the *sabbath*. See more unto this purpose, in *Ensebius de Demonstr. l. 1. c. 6. de preparat. l. 7. c. 8.* (where *Isaac* and *Jacob* are remembred too:) as also *Epiphanius adv. heres. l. 1. n. 5.* In all which passages of the Fathers we may still observe, how evenly *Circumcision* and the *sabbath* doe keepe pace together, both Ceremonies, both to end at our Saviours passion; both of them speciall marks and cognizances to discern the Christian from the Jew.

(6) Thus farre the ancient Christian Writers have declared of *Abraham*, that hee kept no *Sabbath*: and this in con-

in Dial. cum Tryphone.

Lib. 4 30.

Adv. Judaeos.

conference with the *Jew*, and in Bookes against them. Which doubtlesse they had never done, had there beene any possibility for the *Jewes* to have proved the contrary. Some of the *Jewes* indeed, not being willing thus to lose their Father *Abraham*, have said, and written too, that hee kept the *Sabbath*, as they doe: and for a proof thereof they ground themselves on that of *Genesis*, because that *Abraham obeyed my voice, and kept my charge, my Commandements, my statutes and my laws*. The *Jews* conclude from hence, as *Mercer* and *Tostatus* tel us, upon the Text, that *Abraham* kept the *Sabbath*, and all other Ceremonies of the Law: as much I think the one, as he did the other. Who those *Jews* were that said it, of what name and quality, that they have not told us: and it were too much forwardnesse, to credit any namelesse *Jew*, before so many *Christian Fathers*. *Tostatus* though he do relate their dissent, yet beleeves them not: And herein wee will rather follow him, then *Mercer*; who seemes a little to incline to that *Jewish* fancy. The rather since some *Jewes* of name and quality, have gone the same way, that the Fathers did, before remembred. For *Petrus Galatinus* tells us, how it is written in *Bereishit Ketanna*, or the lesser exposition upon *Genesis*, a Book of publick use, and great authority among them, that *Abraham* did not keepe the *Sabbath*. And this hee tells us on the credit of *Rabbi Johannan*, who saith expressely, that there, upon these words, *God blessed the seventh day*; it is set downe positively, *Non scripta est de Abrahamo, observatio Sabbati*; that there is no such thing recorded of our Father *Abraham*, as that he ever kept the *Sabbath*. And where it is objected for the *Jew*, that in case *Abraham* did not keep it, it was because it was not then commanded: this *Galatinus* makes reply, *Ex hoc saltem infertur Sabbati cultum non esse de lege natura*, that therefore it is evident that the *Sabbath* is no part of the *Law of nature*. As for the Text of *Genesis*, wee may expound it well enough, and never finde a *Sabbath* in it, which that it may be done with the

least

26. 5.

De Arcanis,
l. 1. c. 10.

least suspicion, we will take the exposition of Saint *Chrysostome*, who very fully hath explained it. *Because he hath obeyed my voice &c.* Right, saith the Father, God said unto him, *Get thee out from thy Fathers house, and from thy kindred, and go into the land that I shall shew thee: and Abraham went out*, ὃ κατέλειπε τὰ ἐν χειρὶ, καὶ τὰ ἀδελφὰ ἐδύνακε, and left a faire possession for an expectation: and this not wavering, but with all alacrity and readinesse. Then followeth his expectation of a sonne in his olde age, (when nature was decayed in him) as the Lord had promised; his casting out of *Ismael*, as the Lord commanded, his readinesse to offer *Isaac*, as the Lord had willed, and many others of that nature. Enough to give occasion unto that applause, because hee hath obeyed my voice; although hee never kept the *Sabbath*. Indeed the *Sabbath* could not have relation to those words in *Gen.* because it was not then commanded.

(7) Next look on *Jacob*, the heire as well of *Abraham*'s travels, as of his Faith. Take him as *Laban*'s sheepheard, and the Text informes us of the pains he took. *In the day time the drought consumed mee, and the frost by night, and the sleepe departed from mine eyes*. No time of rest, much more, no seventh part of his time, allotted unto rest, from his daily labours. And in his flight from *Laban*, it seemes he stood not on the *Sabbath*. For though hee fled thence with his wives and children, and with all his substance; and that he went but easily, according as the cattle and the children were able to endure: yet he went forwards still without any resting. Otherwise *Laban*, who heard of his departure on the third day, & pursued after him again; must needs have overtaken him before the seventh. Now for the rest of *Jacob*'s time, when he was settled in the Land appointed for him, and afterwards remooved to *Egypt*; we must referre you unto *Iustin Martyr*, and *Ensebius*: whereof one saith expressely, ὑπὲρ τούτων ἐπιλαβε, that he kept not any of the things before remembred, the Sabbath

Gen. 31. 40.

See n. 5. of this
Chapter.

bath being one as before was shewed; the other makes him one of those, which lived without the Law of *Moses*, whereof the *sabbath* was a part. Having brought *Jacob* into *Egypt*, we should proceed to *Joseph*, *Moses*, & the rest of his off-spring there: but we will first take *Job* along, as one of the posterity of *Abraham*; that after wee may have the better leisure, to wait upon the *Israelites* in that house of bondage. I say as one of the posterity of *Abraham*, the fifth from *Abraham*, to *Eusebius* tells us; who saith, more-
 “ over, that he kept no *sabbath*. What (saith hee) shall we
 “ say of *Job*, that just, that pious, that most blamelesse
 “ man? What was the rule whereby he squared his life, &
 “ governed his devotions? Was any part of *Moses* Law?
 “ Not so. *Αλλὰ οὐδέ τις ἡμέρας ἐπιτήρησις ἦν, ἢ πρὸς ἄλλης Ἰουδαί-*
 “ *κῆς ἐδελοθρεσκίας φυλακῆς;* Was any keeping of the *sab-*
 “ *bath*, or observation of any other *Jewish* order? How
 “ could that be, saith hee, considering that he was anci-
 “ enter then *Moses*, and lived before his Law was pub-
 “ lished? For *Moses* was the seventh from *Abraham*,
 “ and *Job* the fifth. So farre *Eusebius*. And *Iustin Mar-*
 “ *tyr* also joynes him with *Abraham* and his Family, as men
 that took not heed of *New Moons*, or *Sabbaths*, whereof
 see before, n. 5. I find indeed in *Dostour BOUND*, that *Theo-*
dore Beza on his own authority hath made *Job* very pun-
 ctuall, in sanctifying *septimum saltem quemque diem*, every
 seventh day at least, as God, saith he, from the beginning
 had appointed. But I hold *Beza* no fit match for *Iustin*,
 and *Eusebius*. nor to be credited in this kinde, when they
 say the contrary, considering in what times they lived,
 and with whom they dealt.

(8) And now wee come at last unto the *Israelites* in
Egypt; from *Joseph*, who first brought them thither, to
Moses who conducted them in their flight from thence;
 and so unto the body of the whole Nation. For *Joseph*,
 first, *Eusebius* first tells us in the generall, that the same in-
 stitution and course of life, which by the Ordinance of
Christ

Demonstr. l. 1.
c. 6.

2. Edit. p. 14.

Dem. l. 1. c. 6.

Christ was preached unto the *Gentiles*; had formerly been
 commended to the ancient *Patriarkes*: particular in-
 stances whereof, he makes *Melchisedech*, and *Noah*, and
Enoch, and *Abraham*, till the time of *Circumcision*. And
 then it followes, *ἔγενετο δὲν καὶ τὸν Ἰωσήφ παρὰ τῶν Μωσέως*
χρόνων, ἐν τοῖς Αἰγυπτίων βασιλείοις &c. ἐκ Ἰουδαίων ἀχθέντα.
 That *Joseph* in the Court of *Egypt* long time before the
 Law of *Moses*, lived answerably to those ancient pat-
 ternes, and not according as the *Jewes*. Nay, he affirms,
 the same of *Moses*, *τὸν κορυφαῖον αὐτὸν καὶ νομοθέτην τῶν*
Ἰουδαίων ἔθους, the very Law-giver himselte, the Chieftain
 of the Tribes of *Israel*. As for the residue of the people,
 we can expect no more of them, that lived in bondage,
 under severe and cruell Masters: who called upon them
day by day to fulfill their taskes; and did expostulate
 with them in an heavy manner, in case they wanted of
 their Tale. The *Jewes* themselves can best resolve us in
 this point. And amongst them *Philo* doth thus describe
 their troubles. *Ἐπιστάτας τῶν ἔργων ἀνελεσέμετες, &c.* The
 “ Taskmasters or Overseers of the works, were the most
 “ cruell and unmercifull men in all the Countrey, who
 “ laid upon them greater taskes than they were able to
 “ endure: inflicting on them no lesse punishment then
 “ death it selfe, if any of them, yea, though by reason of
 “ infirmitie, should withdraw himselte from his daily
 “ labour. Some were commanded to employ themselves
 “ in the publick structures; others in bringing in materi-
 “ als, for such mighty buildings; *ἐδεμίαν ἔχοντας ἀνάπαυ-*
 “ *λαν*, never enjoying any rest either night or day, that
 “ in the end they were even spent and tired with conti-
 “ nuall travaile. *Iosephus* goes a little farther, and tels
 “ us this, that the *Egyptians* did not onely tire the
 “ *Israelites* with continuall labour; *οἱ δὲ αὖτε κρείττους φαίνε-*
 “ *σθαι τῶν ἐπιταγμάτων*, but that the *Israelites* endevou-
 “ red to performe more then was expected. Assuredly, in
 such a wofull state as this, they had nor leave, nor leisure,
 to

See Exod. 5.
v. 5. & 14.

De vita Moys.
lib. 1.

Antiq. Jud. lib.
2. c. 5.

Apud Ryat. in
Dialog.

to observe the Sabbath. And lastly, *Rabbi Maimony*, makes matter yet more absolute, who saith it for a truth, that when they were in *Egypt*, *neque quiescere, vel Sabbatum agere potuerunt*, they neither could have time to rest, nor to keepe the Sabbath, seeing they were not then at their owne disposing. So hee *ad Deuter. 5. 15.*

(9) Indeed it easily may be beleevd, that the people kept no Sabbath in the Land of *Egypt*, seeing they could not be permitted in all that time of their abode there, to offer sacrifice: which was the easier duty of the two, and would lesse have tooke them from their labours. Those that accused the *Israelites* to have been wanton, lazy, and I know not what, because they did desire to spend *one onely day* in religious Exercises: what would they not have done, had they desisted every *seventh day* from the works imposed upon them? Doubtlesse, they had beene carried to the house of Correction, if not worse handled. I say, in all that time, they were not permitted to offer sacrifice, in that Country: and therefore when they purposed to escape from thence, they made a suite to *Pharaoh*, that hee would suffer them to go *three dayes journey into the Wildernesse*, to offer sacrifice there to the Lord their God. Rather then so, *Pharaoh* was willing to permit them for that once, to sacrifice unto the Lord in the land of *Egypt*: and what said *Moses* thereunto? *It is not meet (saith he) so to doe. For we shall sacrifice the abomination of the Egyptians to the Lord our God before their eyes; and they will stone us.* His reason was, because the Gods of the *Egyptians* were Bulls and Rams, and Sheep and Oxen, as *Lyra* notes upon that place: *Talia vero animalia ab Hebrais erant immolanda, quod non permisissent Aegyptii in terra sua*; And certainly the *Egyptians* would not endure to see their Gods knocked down, before their faces. If any then demand, wherein the Piety and Religion of Gods people did consist especially: wee must

needs

Exod. 8.

Verse 26.

needs answer, that it was in the integrity and honesty of their conversation; and that they worshipped God onely in the spirit and truth. Nothing to make it known that they were Gods people, ἢ μόνον θεοσεβεία καὶ πίστις, but onely that they feared the Lord, and were circumcised; as *Epiphanius* hath resolved it: nothing but that they did acknowledge one onely God, and exercised themselves in justice, and in modesty, in patience and long suffering, both towards one another and amongst the *Egyptians*; framing their lives agreeably to the will of God, and the Law of Nature. Therefore wee may conclude with safety, that hitherto no Sabbath had been kept in all the World, from the Creation of our first Father *Adam*, to this very time; which was above five and twenty hundred yeares: no nor commanded to bee kept amongst them, in their generations.

(10) I say there was none kept, no nor none commanded: for had it been commanded, sure it had been kept. It was not all the pride of *Pharaoh*, or subtle tyranny of his Subjects, that could have made them violate that sacred Day, had it beene commended to them from the Lord. The miseries which they after suffered under *Antiochus*, rather then that they would prophane the Sabbath; and those calamities which they chose to fall upon them by the hands of the *Romanes*; rather then make resistance upon that day, when lawfully they might have done it: are proofes sufficient, that neither force, nor feare, could now have wrought upon them not to keepe the same, had such a duty beene commanded. Questionlesse, *Ioseph* for his part, that did preferre a lothsome prison before the unchast imbraces of his Masters Wife, would no lesse carefully have kept the Sabbath, then he did his chastity; had there been any Sabbath then to have beene observed, either as dictated by nature, or prescribed by Law. And certainly either the

Adv. baref. l. i
her 5.

Sab-

Sabbath was not reckoned all this while, as any part or branch of the *Law of nature*: or else it findes hard measure in the Book of God, that there should be particular proofes, how punctually the rest of the *Morall Law* was observed, and practised, amongst the *Patriarchs*; and not one word, or *Item*, which concerne the observati- on of the *Sabbath*. Now that the whole Law was writ- ten in the hearts of the Fathers, and that they had some knowledge of all the other Commandements, and did live accordingly: the Scripture doth sufficiently declare unto us. First, for the first, * *I am God all-sufficient, walke before me, and be thou perfect*. So said God to *Abraham*. Then *Jacobs* going up from * *Bethel*, to cleanse his house from *Idolatry*; is proove enough that they were acquainted with the second. The pious care they had not to take the Name of the Lord their God in vain, appeares at full, in the religious making of their *Oathes*; * *Abraham* with *Abimelech*, and * *Jacob* with *Laban*. Next for the fifth Commandement what duties children owe their parents, the practice of * *Isaac* and * *Jacob* doth declare abundantly, in being ruled by them in the choice of their Wives, and readily obeying all their directions: as also doth *Noahs* curse on his gracelesse sonne, for shewing no more reverence to his naked Father. Then for the sinne of murder, the History of *Jacobs* * children, and the grieved Fathers curse upon them for the slaughter of the *Sichemites*; together with Gods precept given to * *Noah* against shedding bloud; shew us that both it was forbidden, and condemned being done. The continencie * of *Ioseph* before remem- bred; and the punishment threatned to * *Abi- melech* for keeping *Sarah*, *Abrahams* Wife: the * quarrelling of *Laban* for his stolne *Idols*; and * *Io- sephs* pursuite after his brethren for the silver cup, that was supposed to be purloyned: are proofs sufficient that adul- tery and theft were deemed unlawfull. And last of all,

* GEN 17. I.

* 25. 2.

* 21. 27. &c.

* 31. 51.

* 24. 67. &c.

* 28. 4.

* 34. 26, 30.

* 9. 6.

* 39. 8.

* 10. 3.

* 41. 30.

* 44. 4.

Abimelechs reprehension of * *Abraham* and * *Isaac* for bearing false witnesse in the deniall of their wives; shew plainly that they had the knowledge of that Law also. The like may also be affirmed of their not coveting the wives, or goods, or any thing that was their *Neighbours*. For though the history cannot tell us of mens secret thoughts: yet we may judge of good mens thoughts by their outward actions. Had *Ioseph* coveted his Masters wife, he might have enjoyed her. And *Job*, more home unto the point, affirms expressly of himselfe, *That his heart was never secretly enticed*; which is the same with this, that he did not covet. We conclude then, that seeing there is particular mention how all the residue of the commandments had been observed and practised by the Saints of old; and that no word at all is found which concerns the sanctifying of the Sabbath: that certainly there was no Sabbath sanctified in all that time, from the Creation to the Law of *Moses*; nor reckoned any part of the Law of Nature, or spe- ciall ordinance of God.

* 20. 9.

* 26. 10.

Job 31. 26.

F

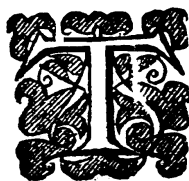
CHAP.



CHAP. IV.

The nature of the fourth Commandment:
and that the SABBATH was not kept
among the Gentiles.

(1) *The Sabbath first made knowne in the fall of Man-
nah. (2) The giving of the Decalogue; and how farre it
bindeth. (3) That in the judgement of the Fathers of the
Christian Church, the fourth Commandment is of a diffe-
rent nature from the other nine. (4) The Sabbath was
first given for a Law by Moses. (5) And being given was
proper onely to the Iews. (6) What moved the Lord, to
give the Israelites a Sabbath. (7) Why the seventh day
was rather chosen for the Sabbath, then any other. (8) The
seventh day not more honoured by the Gentiles, then the
eighth or ninth. (9) The Attributes given by some
Greek Poets, to the seventh day, no argument that they
kept the Sabbath. 10) The Iews derided for their Sab-
bath, by the Græcians, Romans, and Egyptians. (11) The
division of the yeare into weeks, not generally used of old,
amongst the Gentiles.*



(1) Thus have we shewne you, how Gods
Church continued without any Sabbath,
the space of 2500 yeares, and upwards;
even till the children of Israel came out
of Egypt. And if the Saints of God, in
the line of Seth, and the house of Abra-
ham,

ham; assigned not every seventh day for Gods publicke
worship; it is not to be thought that the posterity of Cain,
and the sonnes of Canaan, were observant of it. To pro-
ceed therefore in the History of the Lords own people, as
they observed no Sabbath when they were in Egypt; so
neither did they presently, after their departure thence.
The day of their deliverance thence, was the seventh day,
as some conceive it, which after was appointed for a Sab-
bath to them. *Tornielus*, I am sure, is of that opinion:
and so is *Zanchie* two, who withall gives it for the reason,
why the seventh day was rather chosen for the Sabbath, *Ju quantum*
then any other. *Populus die septima liberatus fuit ex* *præceptum.*
Egypto; & tunc jussit in hujus rei memoriam diem illam
sanctificare. The people, as he tels us, were on the se-
venth day delivered out of Egypt: and thereupon it
was commanded that the seventh day should be obser-
ved in memoriall of it. Which were it so, yet could not
that day be a Sabbath, or a day of rest; considering the
sudden and tumultuous manner, of their going thence:
their sonnes, and daughters, maid-servants, and men-ser-
vants, the cattell and the strangers within their gates, be-
ing all put hardly to it, and faine to flie away, for their life
and safety. And if Saint *Austins* note be true, and the
note be his, that on the first day of the weeke, *transgressi*
sunt filii Israel, mare rubrum, siccis pedibus, the Israelites
went dry foot over the Red Sea, or Sea of Edom: then
must the day before, if any, be the Sabbath day, the next
seventh day, after the day of their departure. But that day
certainly was not kept, as a Sabbath day. For it was
wholly spent in murmuring and complaints against God
and Moses. *They cryed unto the Lord, and they said to*
Moses, why hast thou brought us out of Egypt to die in the
Wildernesse? Had it not been better farre for us to serve the
Egyptians? Nothing in al these murmurings and seditious
clamours, that may denote it for a Sabbath, for an holy
Festivall. Nor do we finde that for the after times, they
made

Serm. de temp.
854

Exod. 14. 11.
Ch. 12.

Exod. 15. 26.

Exod. 16. 2.

made any scruple of journeying on that day, till the Law was given them in Mount Sinai: which was the eleventh station after their escape from Egypt. It was the fancy of Rabbi Solomon, that the Sabbath was first given in Marah; and that the Sacrifice of the red Cow, mentioned in the nineteenth of Numbers, was instituted at that time also. This fancy founded on those words in the Booke of Exodus, *If thou wilt diligently hearken to the voice of the Lord thy God, &c. then will I bring none of those diseases upon thee, that I brought on the Egyptians.* But Torniellus, and Tostatus, and Lyra, though himselfe a Jew, count it no other then a Jewish and Rabbinicall folly. Sure I am, that on the fifteenth day of the second moneth, after their departure out of Egypt; being that day seven-night, before the first Sabbath was discovered, in the fall of Mannah: we finde not any thing that implyes either rest, or worship. We read indeed how all the Congregation murmured, as they did before, against Moses, and against Aaron; wishing that they had died in the land of Egypt, where they had bread their bellies full, rather then be destroyed with Famine. So eagerly they murmured, that to content them, God sent them Quails that night; and rained downe bread from Heaven, next morning. Was this, thinke you, the sanctifying of a Sabbath, to the Lord their God? Indeed the next seventh day that followed, was by the Lord commended to them for a Sabbath; and ratified by a great and signall miracle the day before: wherein it pleased him, to give them double what they used to gather on the former dayes, that they might rest upon the seventh, with the greater comfort. This was a preamble or preparative to the following Sabbath: for by this miracle, this rest of God from raining Mannah, on the seventh day, the people came to know, which was precisely the seventh day from the Worlds Creation: whereof they were quite ignorant, at that present time. Philo assures in

in his third Book *de vita Mosi*, that the knowledge of that day on which God rested from his works, had been quite forgotten, διὰ τὰς ἐν ὕδασι καὶ πυρὶ γενομένας φθογὰς, by reason of those many miseries, which had befallen the World by fire and water: and so continued, till by this miracle, the Lord revived againe the remembrance of it. And in another place, when men had made, saith hee, a long enquiry after the birth day of the World, and were yet to seeke; ὃ παρὰ πατέρων καὶ παρορών, πῶς ζήτησιν αὐτὸν διαδεξαμένοι, μόλις ἠδυνήθησαν εὑρεῖν, &c. God made it knowne to them by a speciall miracle, which had so long been hidden from their Ancestors. The falling of a double portion of Mannah on the sixth day, and the not putrifying of it on the seventh; was the first light which Moses had to descry the Sabbath: which hee accordingly commended unto all the people, to be a day of rest unto them; that as God ceased that day from sending, so they should rest from looking after their daily bread. But what need Philo be produced, when wee have such an ample testimony from the Word it selfe? For it is manifest in the story, that when the people, on the sixth day, had gathered twice as much Mannah, as they used to doe; according as the Lord had directed by his servant Moses: they understood not what they did, at least why they did it. The Rulers of the Congregation, as the Text informes us, came and told Moses of it: and he, as God before had taught him, acquainted them, that on the morrow should be the rest of the holy Sabbath, unto the Lord; and that they were to keepe the over-plus, untill the morning. Nay, so farre were the people from knowing any thing of the Sabbath, or of Gods rest upon that day; that though the Prophet had thus preached unto them of a Sabbaths rest, the people gave small credit to him. For it is said, that some of the people went out to gather on the seventh day, (which was the seventh day after, or the second Sabbath, as

De vita Mosi
l. 1.

Exod. 16. 5.

Verse 22.

Verse 23:

Verse 27.

some thinke) notwithstanding all that had been spoken, and that the *Mannah* stanke not, as on other dayes. So that this resting of the people, was the first *sanctifying of the Sabbath* mentioned in the Scriptures: and Gods great care, to make provision for them on the day before, the blessing hee bestowed upon it. And this is that, which *Salomon Iarchi* tels us, as before wee noted, *Beneditio ei*] i. e. in *Mannah*, *quia omnibus diebus septimana descendit Omer pro singulis, & sexto panis duplex: & sanctificavit eum*] i. e. in *Mannah*, *quia non descendit omnino*. Nay, generally the *Hebrew Doctors* do affirme the same: assuring us that the Commandement of the Sabbath is foundation and ground of all the rest, as being given before them all, at the fall of *Mannah*. *Vnde dicunt Hebræi sabbatum fundamentum esse aliorum preceptorum, quod ante alia precepta hoc datum sit, quando Mannah acceperunt*. So *Hospinian* tels us. Therefore the Sabbath was not given before, in their own confession. This happened on the two and twentieth day of the second moneth after their comming out of *Egypt*; and of the Worlds Creation, Anno 2044. the people being then in the Wildernesse of *Sin*, which was their seventh station.

(2) The seventh day after, being the nine and twentieth of the second moneth, is thought by some, and those of very good esteeme, to be that day whereon some of the people, distrustful all that *Moses* said, went out to gather *Mannah*, as on other dayes: but whether they were then in the Wildernesse of *Sin*, or were incamped in *Dophkath*, *Alush*, or *Rephidim*, which were their next remooves, that the Scriptures say not. Most likely that they were in the last station, considering the great busineses there performed; the fight with *Amalek*, and the new ordering of the Government by *Jethroes* countaile; and that upon the third day of the third moneth, which was Thursday following, they

Chap. I n. 2.

De fest. Iudeor. 6. 3.

Num 33.

they were advanced so farre as to the Wildernesse of *Sinai*. I say the third day of the third moneth; For where the Text hath it, *In the third moneth when the children of Israel were gone forth out of Egypt, the same day came they into the wildernesse of Sinai*: by the same day is meant the same day of the moneth, which was the third day, being Thursday, after our Accompt. The morrow after went *Moses* up unto the Lord, and had commandement from him to sanctifie the people that day, and to morrow, and to make them ready against the third day: God meaning on that day, to come downe in the eyes of all the people on Mount *Sinai*, and to make knowne his will unto them. That day being come, which was the Saturday or Sabbath, the people were brought out of the Campe to meet with God, and placed by *Moses* at the nether part of the Mountaine: *Moses* ascending first to God, and descending after to the people; to charge them that they did not passe their bounds, before appointed. It seemes the *Sabbaths* rest was not so established, but that the people had been likely to take the pains to climbe the Mountain, and to behold the wonders which were done upon it: had they not had a speciall charge unto the contrary. which their averfeness at the first, when they went out to gather *Mannah*; and their forgetfulness at the present, though so shortly after, was doubtlesse the occasion of that watch-word, or *memento* prefixed before the fourth Commandement. But to proceed. Things ordered thus, it pleased the Lord to publish and proclaim his Law unto the people, in thunder, smoake, and lightnings, and the noyse of a Trumpet; using therein the Ministry of his holy Angels: which Law wee call the *Decalogue*, or the ten Commandements, and contains in it the whole *Morall Law*, or the *Law of Nature*. This had before been naturally imprinted in the minds of men; how euer that in tract of time, the character thereof had beene much defaced; so dimmed and darkened, that Gods owne people stood in need of a new impression: and therefore was pro-

Exod. 19. 1.

Exod. 19. v. 3.
10. 1.

Verse 17.

Verse 21.

Rom. 2. 14.

De Redempti. l.
1. c. 11. Th. 1.

claimed in this solempne manner, that so the letter of the Law, might leave the cleerer stampe in their affections. A Law which in it selfe was generall and universall, equally appertayning both to Jew and Gentile; the Gentiles which know not the Law, doing by nature the things contained in the Law, as Saint Paul hath told us: but as at this time published on Mount Sinai, and as delivered to the people by the hand of Moses, they obliged onely those of the house of Israel. Zanchinus hath so resolved it amongst the Protestants, (not to say any thing of the Schoolmen, who affirme the same:) *ut Politica & Ceremoniales, sic etiam morales leges qua Decalogi nomine significantur, quatenus per Mosen tradita fuerunt Israelitis, ad nos Christianos nihil pertinent, &c.* As neither the Iudiciall nor the Ceremoniall, so nor the Morall Law contained in the Decalogue, doth any way concern us Christians, as given by Moses to the Jewes: but onely so farre forth, as it is consonant to the Law of Nature, which bindes all alike; and after was confirmed and ratified by Christ, our King. His reason is, because that if the Decalogue as given by Moses to the Jewes, did concerne the Gentiles; the Gentiles had been bound by the fourth Commandement, to observe the Sabbath, in as strict a manner as the Jewes. *Cum verò constet ad huius diei sanctificationem nunquam fuisse Gentes obligatas, &c.* Since therefore it is manifest that the Gentiles never were obliged to observe the Sabbath, it followeth that they neither were, nor possibly could be bound to any of the residue, as given by Moses to the Jewes. Wee may conclude from hence, that had the fourth Commandement been meerly morall, it had no lesse concerned the Gentiles, then it did the Israelites.

(3) For that the fourth Commandement is not of the same condition with the rest, is no new invention. The Fathers joyntly so resolve it. Its true that Irenæus tels us, how God, the better to prepare us to eternall life,

De-

Lib. 4. c. 31.

Decalogi verba per semetipsum omnibus similiter locutum est, did by him selfe proclaime the Decalogue to all people equally: which therefore is to be in full force amongst us, as having rather been enlarged then dissolved, by our Saviours comming in the flesh. Which words of Irenæus, if considered rightly, must be referred to that part of the fourth Commandement, which indeed is Morall; or else the fourth Commandement must not be reckoned as a part or member of the Decalogue: because it did receive no such enlargement, as did the rest of the Commandements, by our Saviours preaching; (whereof see Matth. 5. 6. and 7 Chapters) but a dissolution rather by his practice. Iustin the Martyr more expressly, in his dispute with Trypho a learned Jew, maintains the Sabbath to be onely a Mosaicall Ordinance; as wee shall see anon more fully; & that it was imposed on the Israelites, διὰ τὴν ἀνομίαν αὐτῶν, καὶ τὴν σκληροκαρδίαν, because of their hard-heartednesse, and irregularitie. Tertullian also in his Treatise against the Jewes, saith that it was not spiritale & eternum mandatum; sed temporale, quod quandoque cessaret, not a spirituall and eternall institution, but a temporall onely. The like saith Chrysostome, that this Commandement is not any of those, τῶν ἐν τῇ συνειδήσει ἡμῶν ὑπερωμένων, which naturally were implanted in us, or made knowne unto our conscience: ἀλλὰ μετεκλήτης καὶ ὑποσχετικῆς, but that it was temporary and occasionall, and such as was to have an end; where all the rest were necessary and perpetuall. Saint Austin yet more fully, that it is no part of the Morall Law. For he divides the Law of Moses into these two parts, Sacraments, and morall duties: accounting Circumcision, the New Moones, Sabbaths, and the Sacrifices, to appertain unto the first: *ad mores autem, non occides, &c.* and these Commandements, *Thou shalt not kill, nor commit adultery, nor beare false witness*, and the rest, to be contained within the second. Nay more, hee tels us, that Moses did receive a Law

Dial. cum Tryphone.

Contra Iudeos.

Andriant 12.
tom. 6.

In Epistola ad Galat.

De Spiritu &
lit. c. 11. 4.

Law

Law to be delivered to the people, writ in two Tables made of stone by the Lords own finger: wherein was nothing to be found either of *Circumcision*, or the *Jewish* Sacrifices. And then hee addes, *In illis igitur decem preceptis, excepta Sabbati observatione, dicatur mihi quid non sit observandum à Christiano*: Tell me, saith he, what is there in the *Decalogue*, except the observation of the *Sabbath day*, which is not carefully to be observed of a Christian man. To this wee may referre all those severall places, wherein hee calls the fourth Commandment, *preceptum figuratum*, & *in umbra positum*, a Sacrament, a shadow, and a figure: as *Tract.* the third in *Ioh. 1.* and *Tract.* 17. and 20. in *Ioh. 5.* *ad Bonifac. l. 3. T. 7. contra Faust. Manich. l. 19. c. 18.* the 14 Chapter of the Booke *de spiritu & lit.* before remembred: and finally, to go no further, *Qu. in Exod. l. 2. qu. 173.* where hee speakes most home, and to the purpose. *Ex decem preceptis hoc solum figurate dictum est.* Of all the ten Commandments this onely was delivered as a signe or figure. See also what is said before out of *Theodore*, and *Sedulius*, *Chap. 1 n. 6.* *Hesychius* goes yet further, and will not have the fourth Commandment to be any of the ten; *Et si decem mandatis insertum sit, non tamen ex iis esse*; and howsoever it is placed amongst them, yet it is not of them. And therefore to make up the number, divides the first Commandment into two, as those of *Rome* have done the last, to exclude the second. But here *Hesychius* was deceived, in taking this Commandment to be onely ceremoniall, whereas it is indeed of a mixt or middle nature: for so the Schoolmen, and other learned Authours in these later times, grounding themselves upon the Fathers, have resolved it generally. Nor is it any prejudice unto the *Decalogue*, that any thing therein should be ceremoniall: God haply thinking fit, (as one rightly noteth) to dispose it so, that he might intimate the perpetuall necessitie, of having some Ceremonies in the Church. So then, the fourth Com-

In Levit. l. 6.
c. 25.

Commandment is *morall*, as unto the *durie*, that there must be a time appointed for the service of God: and *Ceremoniall*, as unto the *Day*, to be one of seven, and to continue that whole day, and to surcease that day from all kinde of worke. As *morall*, placed amongst the ten Commandments, extending unto all mankinde, and written *naturally* in our hearts by the hand of *nature*: as *ceremoniall*, appertaining to the *Law Leviticall*, peculiar onely to the *Jews*, and to be reckoned with the rest of *Moses* institutes. *Aquinas* thus, 2. 2a qu. 122. art. 4. *resp. ad primum.* *Tostatus* thus in *Exod. 20. qu. 11.* So *Petr. Galatinus* also, *lib. 11, cap. 9.* and *Bonaventure* in his Sermon on the fourth Commandment; and so divers others: besides what shall be said hereafter of the *Protestant* Doctors.

(4) I say, the fourth Commandment, so farre as it is *ceremoniall*, in limiting the *Sabbath day* to be one of seven, and to continue all that day, and thereon to surcease from all kinde of labour: which three ingredients are required in the Law, unto the making of a *Sabbath*: is to be reckoned with the rest of *Moses* institutes, and proper onely to the *Jews*. For prooffe of this, we have the Fathers very copious. And first that it was one of *Moses* institutes, *Iustin the Martyr* saith expressly. *Ὁς δὲ τὸ Ἀβραάμ, καὶ τὸ Μωϋσῆος σάββατον, &c.* As *Circumcision* began from *Abraham*, and as the *Sabbath*, *Sacrifices*, *Feasts*, and *Offerings*, came in by *Moses*: so were they all to have an end. And in another place of the same Discourse, seeing there was no use of *Circumcision* untill *Abrahams* time, *ὅτε τὸ Μωϋσῆος σάββατον, &c.* nor of the *Sabbath* untill *Moses*: by the same reason, there is as little use now of them, as had beene before. So doth *Ensebins* tell us, *πρῶτον μὲν Ἰσραηλῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκείνου ἰσχυροῦς Μωϋσῆος, σάββατον πρὸς παραδόντα ἡμέραν, &c.* that *Moses* was the first Law-giver amongst the *Jews*, who did appoint them to observe a certaine
“ *Sab.*

Dial. cum Try-
phone.

De Præparat. l.
7 c. 6.

synopsi sacre
Script.

Hom 35.

In Exod. 10.

De Pond &
mensur. n. 22.De fide Orthod.
lib. 4. c. 24.

" *Sabbath*, in memory of Gods rest from the Worlds
 " Creation: as also divers anniversary Festivals, toge-
 " ther with the difference of cleane and uncleane crea-
 " tures, and of other Ceremonies not a few. Next *A-*
thanasius lets us know, that in the Book of *Exodus*, we
 have the institution of the Passeeover, the sweetning of
 the bitter waters of *Marah*, the sending downe of
Quails and *Mannah*, the waters issuing from the rockes
 ὅτε καὶ ἀρχὴν ἔχεν ἡ τῆς σαββάτου ἀρχή, what time the
Sabbath tooke beginning, and the Law was published
 by *Moses* on Mount *Sinai*. *Macarius* a Contemporary
 of *Athanasius* doth affirme as much, viz. that in the
 Law, διὰ Μωσέως δέδεντο, which was given by *Moses*, it
 was commanded, as in a figure or a shadow, that every
 man should rest on the *Sabbath day*, from the works of
 labour. Saint *Hierome* also lets us know, though he name
 not *Moses*, that the observation of the *Sabbath*, amongst
 other ordinances, was given by God unto his people in
 the *Wildernesse*. *Hac precepta, & justificationes, & ob-*
servantiam Sabbati, Dominus dedit in deserto: which is
 as much, as if he had expressly told us, that it was given
 unto them by the hand of *Moses*. Then *Epiphanius*, God
 " saith he, rested on the seventh day from all his labours;
 " which day he blessed and sanctified, καὶ ἐδύλωσε διαγί-
 " λαι τοῦ Μωϋσῆ, and by his *Angel* made knowne the
 " same to his servant *Moses*. See more unto this pur-
 pose *advers. heres. l. 1. bar. 6. n. 5*. And lastly, *Damasce-*
n hath assured us, that when there was no Law nor Scrip-
 ture, that then there was no *Sabbath* neither: but when
 the Law was given by *Moses*, ἀπερώδη τοῦ Θεοῦ τὸ σαββα-
 τόν, then was the *Sabbath* set apart for Gods publicke
 worship. Adde here, that *Tacitus*, and *Iustin* both, referre
 the institution of the *sabbath*, unto *Moses* only: of which
 more hereafter.

(5) Next that the *Sabbath* was peculiar onely to the
Jews, or those, at least that were of the house of *Israel*;
 the

the Fathers do affirme more fully, then they did the o-
 ther. For so Saint *Basil*, τὸ σαββατον ἐδόθη τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις,
 the *Sabbath* was given unto the *Jews*, in his first Homily
 of Fasting. Saint *Austin* so, that it was given unto the
 former people; and namely to the *Jews*, or *Hebrews*, as
 he elsewhere calleth them: and given to them, not onely
 for their bodily rest, but for a type or figure of the rest
 to come. Or as his owne words are, *Sabbatum datum*
est priori populo in otio corporali, *Epistola 119. & Sab-*
batum Iudæis fuisse preceptum in umbra futuri, de *Gen.*
ad lit. l. 4. c. 11. and in the 13. of the same Booke, *unum*
diem observandum mandavit populo Hebræo: the like to
 which occurs *Epist. 86. ad Casulanum*. The *Jews*, the
Hebrews, and the former people; all these three are one:
 and all do serve to shew, that Saint *Austin* thought the
Sabbath to be peculiar unto them onely. That it was
 given unto the *Jews*, exclusively of all other Nations, is
 the opinion and conceit also of the *Jews* themselves. This
Petrus Galatinus proves against them, on the authority
 of their best Authors. *Sic enim legitur apud eos in Glossa, Ch. 16. 29.*
&c. We reade, saith he, in their Glosse on these words
 of *Exodus*, The Lord hath given you the *Sabbath*: what
 meane, say they, these words, he hath given it you? *Quia*
vobis, viz. Iudæis dedit, & non gentibus saculi: Because
 it was given unto the *Jews*, and not unto the *Gentiles*.
 It is affirmed also, saith he, by *R. Iohannan*, that what-
 soever statute God gave to *Israel*, he gave it to them pub-
 lickly, except the *Sabbath*; and that was given to them
 in secret: according unto that of *Exodus*. *It is a signe Exod. 31. 17.*
betweene me and the children of Israel. Quod si ita est,
non obligantur gentes ad sabbatum. If so saith *Galatinus*,
 the *Gentiles* were not bound to observe the *sabbath*.
A signe betweene me and the children of Israel. It seemes,
 the *Jews* were all of the same opinion. For where they *Ainsworth in*
 used on other dayes to weare their *Phylacteries* on their *Exod. 13. 9.*
 armes or fore-heads, to be a signe or token to them, as
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In Gen. 2:

the Lord commanded; they layed them by upon the *Sabbaths*: because, say they, the *Sabbath* was it selfe a *signe*. So truly said *Procopius Gazæus*, *Ita Iudæis imperavit supremum numen, ut segregarent à cæteris diebus diem septimum, &c.* "God, saith he, did command the *Jews*, to set apart the seventh day to his holy worship; that if by chance they should forget the Lord their God, that day might call him backe unto their remembrances: where note, it was commanded to the *Iewes alone*. Adde, that *Iosephus* calls the *Sabbath* in many places, a *nationall* or *locall custome*, τὸν περὶ τοὺς ῥόμους, a law peculiar to that people; as *Antiqu. lib. 14. cap. 18.* & *de Bello, lib. 2. cap. 16.* as we shall see hereafter more at large. Lastly, so given to the *Jews alone*, that it became a difference betweene them, and all other people. Saint *Cyrill* hath resolved it so. God, saith he, gave the *Jews* a *Sabbath*, not that the keeping of the same should be sufficient to conduct them to eternall life: *Sed ut hac civilis administrationis ratio peculiaris, à gentium institutis distinguat eos*; but that so different a form of civil government, should put a difference betweene them, and all Nations else. *Theodoret* more fully, that the *Jews* being in other things like to other people, *In observatione Sabbati, propriam videbantur obtinere rempublicam*; seemed in keeping of the *Sabbath*, to have a custome by themselves. And which is more, saith he, their *Sabbath* put a greater difference betweene the *Jews*, and other people; then their *Circumcision*: For *Circumcision* had been used by the *Idumaans*, and *Egyptians*: *sabbati verò observationem sola Iudeorum natio custodiebat*, But the observation of the *Sabbath*, was peculiar onely to the *Jews*. Nay, even the very *Gentiles* tooke it for a *Jewish Ceremony*; sufficient prooffe whereof we shall see ere long. But what need more be said in this, either that this was one of the *Laws of Moses*, or that it was peculiar

In Ezr. b. 10.

In Ezr. b. 20.

liar to the *Jews alone*; seeing the same is testified by the holy Scripture? *Thou camest downe upon mount Sinai*, saith *Nehemiah*, and spakest with them [the house of *Israel*] from Heaven: and gavest them right judgements and true laws, good statutes and commandments, what more? It followeth, *And madest knowne unto them thy holy Sabbaths, and commandedst them precepts, statutes, and laws, by the hand of thy servant Moses*. Adde here what God himselfe delivered to his servant *Moses*, where he informed him that he had made the *Sabbath*, to be a *signe* betweene him and the people of *Israel*; *Exod. 31. 16.*

Cap. 19. 13 &

Vers. 14.

(6) Now on what motives God was pleased to prescribe a *Sabbath* to the *Jews*, more at this time, then any of the former ages; the Fathers severally have told us: yea and the Scriptures too in severall places. *Iustin Martyr*, as before we noted, gives this generall reason, because of their hard-heartednesse, and irregular courfes; wherein Saint *Austin* closeth with him. *Cessarunt onera legis quæ ad duritiem cordis Iudaici fuerunt data, in escis, Sabbatis, & neomeniis*: where note how he hath joyned together, *new-moones*, and *sabbaths*, and the *Jewish* difference betweene meat and meat. Particularly, *Gregory Nyssen* makes the speciall motive to be this, *Ad sedandum nimium eorum pecunia studium*, so to restraine the people from the love of money. For comming out of *Egypt* very poore and bare, and having almost nothing but what they borrowed of the *Egyptians*; they gave themselves, saith he, unto continuall and incessant labour, the sooner to attaine to riches. Therefore said God, that they should labour *six dayes*, and rest the seventh. *Damascen* somewhat to this purpose, εἰδὼς ὁ Θεὸς τὸ πᾶσι καὶ φιλόστονον, &c. God, saith he, seeing the carnall and the covetous disposition of the *Israelites*, appointed them to keepe a *Sabbath*, that so their servants and their cattell might partake of rest.

Quæ ex Nov. Test. 69.

Testim. adventus Dei in carne.

De fide Orth. l. 4. c. 24.

L. 5. in Job 4. 5.

Deut. 14.

Deut. 15.

De Gen. ad lit. l. 4. c. 11.

rest. And then he addes, *ἀμα ὃ καὶ ῥοὴν ἄγοντες*, &c. as also, that thus resting from their worldly busineses, they might repaire unto the Lord in *Psalmes*, and *Hymnes*, and *spirituall songs*, and meditation of the Scriptures. *Rupertus* harps on the same string that the others did, save that he thinks the Sabbath given for no other cause, then that the labouring man being wearied with his weekly toyle, might have some time to refresh his spirits. *Sabbatum nihil aliud est nisi requies, vel quam ob causam data est, nisi ut operarius fessus ceteris septimana diebus, uno die requiesceret? Gaudens Brixianus* in his twelfth Homily or Sermon, is of the same minde also, that the others were. These seeme to ground themselves on the fifth of *Deuteronomy*, where God commands his people to observe his *Sabbaths*, that thy man-servant, and thy maid-servant may rest as well as thou. And then it followeth, Remember that thou wast a servant in the Land of Egypt, and that the Lord thy God brought thee out thence, though with a mighty hand and an out-stretched arme: therefore the Lord thy God commanded thee to keepe the Sabbath day. The force of which illation is no more then this, that as God brought them out of Egypt wherein they were servants; so he commands them to take pitie on their servants, and let them rest upon the sabbath: considering that they themselves would willingly have had some time of rest, had they beene permitted. A second motive might be this, to make them alwayes mindfull of that spirituall rest, which they were to keepe from the acts of sinne; and that eternall rest that they did expect from all toyle and misery. In reference unto this eternall rest, Saint Augustine tels us, that the sabbath was commanded to the Jews, *In umbra futuri, qua spiritalem requiem figuraret; As a shadow of the things to come*, in Saint Pauls language, which God doth promise unto those that do the works of righteousness. And in relation to the other,

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the Lord himselfe hath told us, that he had given his Sabbath unto the Jews, to be a signe betweene him and them, that they might know, that he was the Lord that sanctified them. *Exod. 31. 13.* which is again repeated by *Ezek. ca. 20. 12.* That they may know that I am the Lord which sanctifieth them. For God, as *Gregory Nyssen* notes it, seemes onely to propose this unto himselfe, that by all meanes he might at least destroy in man, his inbred corruption. *τὸτο ἐν πεπρωτῇ, τὸτο ἐν τῷ σαββάτῳ.* This was his ayme in Circumcision, and in the Sabbath, and in forbidding them some kinde of meats: *διὰ τὸ τῷ σαββάτῳ ποιεῖν τὴν ἐν τῷ κατὰ φύσιν ἀποεξέλιαν διδόνοντα*, for by the Sabbath he informed them of a rest from sinne. To cite more Fathers to this purpose were a thing unnecessary; and indeed *sensibile super sensum*. This yet confirms us further, that the Sabbath was intended for the Jews alone. For had God given the Sabbath to all other people, as he did to them; it must have also beene a signe, that the Lord had sanctified all people, as hee did the Jews.

(7) There is another motive yet to be considered, and that concernes as well the day, as the institution. God might have given the Jews a Sabbath, and yet not tyed the Sabbath to one day of seven, or to the seventh precisely from the Worlds Creation: *Constitui potuisset, quod in die sabbati coleretur Deus, aut in die Martis, aut in altera die.* God, saith *Tostatus*, might have ordered it, to have his Sabbath on the Saturday, or on the Tuesday, or any other day what ever. What any other of the weeke, and no more then so? No, he might have appointed it, *Aut bis, aut semel tantum in anno, aut in mense*, once or twice a yeare, or every moneth, as he had listed. And might not God as well exceed this number, as fall short thereof? yes say the Protestant Doctors, that he might have done. He might have made each third, or fourth, or fifth day a Sabbath; indeed as many

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as

De resurrect. Chr. Orat. 1.

In Exod. 20. qu. 11.

In Exod. 2.

“ as he pleased. *Si voluisset Deus absolute uti dominio suo, potuit plures dies imperare cultui suo impendendos*: so saith Doctor *Ryvet*, one of the Professours of *Leiden*, and a great Friend to the antiquity of the *Sabbath*. What was the principall motive then, why the seventh day was chosen for this purpose, and none but that? *ἵνα μὴ μὲν λαμβάνητε τὸ Θεῷ*, to keepe God alwayes in their mindes; so saith *Iustin Martyr*. But why should that be rather done by a *seventh day Sabbath*, then by any other? *Saint Cyrill* answers to that point exceeding fully. The *Jews*, saith he, became infected with the Idolatries of *Egypt*, worshipped the Sunne, and Moone, and Starres, and the host of Heaven: which seemes to be insinuated in the fourth of *Deuter. vers. 19*. Therefore that they might understand the Heavens to be Gods workmanship, *eos opificem suum imitari iubet*, he willeth them that they imitate their Creator; that resting on the *Sabbath day*, they might the better understand the reason of the *Festivall*. Which if they did, saith he, in case they rested on that day, whereon God had rested, it was a plaine confession that all things were made by him; and consequently that there were no other Gods besides him. *Et hac una ratio sabbato indita quietis*; And this, saith he, is the onely reason of the *Sabbaths* rest. Indeed the one and onely reason, that is mentioned in the body of the Commandment, which reflects onely on Gods rest from all his worke which he had made: and leaves that as the absolute and sole occasion, why the seventh day was rather chosen, for the *Sabbath*; then the sixth or eighth, or any other. Which being so, it is the more to be admired, that *Philo* being a learned *Jew*, or any learned Christian Writer, leaving the cause expressed in the Law it selfe, should seeke some secret reason for it, out of the nature of the day, or of the number. First, *Philo* tels us, that the *Jews* do call their

Dial. cum Try-
phone.

De fest. Paschal.
hom. 6.

De Abrahamo.

seventh day by the name of *Sabbath*, which signifieth repose and rest. Not because they did rest that day from their weekly labours: *ἀλλ' ἐπὶ ὁ ἑβδομῆς αἰθερίας αἰσῶτος, καὶ ἀπόλεμος, καὶ εἰρηνικώτατος*, but because seven is found to be, both in the world and man himselfe, the most quiet number, most free from trouble, warre, and all manner of contention. A strange conceit to take beginning from a *Jew*: yet that, that follows of *Aretius*, is as strange as this. Who thinks that day was therefore consecrated unto rest, even amongst the *Gentiles*, *Quod putarent civilibus actionibus ineptum esse, fortasse propter frigus planeta, contemplationibus vero idoneum*: because they thought that day, by reason of the dulnesse of the Planet *Saturne*, more fit for contemplation, then it was for action. Some had it seemes, conceived so, in the former times, whom thereupon *Tostatus* censures in his Comment on the fifth of *Deuteronomy*. For where it was Gods purpose, as before we noted out of *Cyril*, to weane the people from Idolatry and Superstition: to lay down such a reason for the observation of the *Sabbath*, was to reduce them to the worship of those Starres and Planets, from which he did intend to weane them. I had almost omitted the conceit of *Zanchie*, before remembred, who thinkes that God made choice of this day the rather; because that on the same day, he had brought his people out of *Egypt*. In case the ground be true, that on this day the Lord wrought this deliuerance for his people *Israel*; then his conceit may probably be countenanced from the fifth of *Dent*. where God recounting to his people, that with a mighty hand and an out-stretched arme he had delivered them from *Egypt*; hath thereupon commanded them, *That they should keepe the Sabbath day*. Lay all that hath beene said together, and it will come in all to this, that as the *Sabbath* was not known till *Moses* time; so being knowne, it was peculiar unto *Israel* onely. *Non nisi Mosaicae legis temporibus*

Problem. loc. 55.

Andr. 12. I. 6.

in usu fuisse septimi diei cultum; nec postea nisi penes Hebræos perdurasse, as *Torniellus* doth conclude it. I onely adde, that this assigning of a reason to the fourth, and to none other in the *Decalogue*, is by Saint *Chrysostome* made an argument, to prove the *Sabbath* not to be a part of the law of nature, or naturally made knowne unto our consciences. For, saith the *Father*, when God saith, *Thou shalt not kill*, *ὅτι καὶ ὁ φύς*, he addes not any reason unto the precept, intimating that murder is an evill act: as taking it for granted, *τὸ σφαιρὸς ἡμᾶς παρὰ δὲ ἐν τῷ*, that that was naturally knowne unto us. Whereas injoyning them to keepe the *Sabbath*, he addes a reason to the law, as being of that sort which had not formerly beene made knowne unto them by the light of nature.

Opera & diu.

(8) For that the *Gentiles* used to keepe the seventh day sacred, as some give it out, is no where to be found. I dare boldly say it, in all the Writings of the *Gentiles*. The seventh day of the moneth indeed they hallowed, and so they did the first, and fourth; as *Hesiod* tels us. *Πρώτη ἐνῆ, τετράτης τε καὶ ἑβδόμῃ ἱερὰ ἡμᾶς*. Not the first day, and the fourth, and seventh of every weeke, for then they must have gone beyond the *Jews*: but as the *Scholiast* upon *Hesiod* notes it, of every moneth: *à novilunio exorsus laudat tres*. Beginning with the new moone he commends three dayes, the first, fourth, and seventh. And lest it should be thought, that the seventh day is to be counted holier then the other two, because the attribute of *ἱερὰ ἡμᾶς* seemes joyned unto it: the *Scholiast* takes away that scruple, *à novilunio exorsus tres laudat, omnes sacras dicens, septimam etiam ut Apollonis natalem celebrans*, and tels us that all three are accounted holy, and that the seventh was also celebrated as *Apollon's* birth-day. For so it followeth in the Poet, *τῇ δὲ Ἀπόλλωνα χρυσάρεα γένετο Ἀντῷ*: from whence the *Flamines* or *Gentile Priests* did use to call him *ἑβδόμα γυνῆ*, i. e. the God borne on the seventh

Diet Geniales
43. 6. 18.

venth day. For further prooffe hereof, we finde in *Alexander ab Alexandro*, that the first day of every moneth, was consecrated to *Apollo*; the fourth, to *Mercurio*; the seventh, againe unto *Apollo*; the eight, to *Thesens*. The like doth *Plutarch* say of *Neptune*, where he affirmes that the *Athenians* offered unto *Thesens* their greatest sacrifice, upon the eighth day of *October*; because of his arrivall, that day, from *Crete*: and that they also honoured him, *ὑπὸ τῆς ἀλλοτρίας ὀνόμας* on the eighth day of the other months, because he was derived from *Neptune*; to whom, on the eighth day of every moneth, they did offer sacrifice. To make the matter yet more sure, *Philo* hath put this difference betweene the *Gentiles*, and the *Jews*; that diverse Cities of the *Gentiles*, did solemnize the seventh day, *ἀπὸ τῆς μηνός*, once a moneth, beginning their account with the *New-moone*: *τὸ δὲ Ἰουδαίων ἱερὰ συνέχευε*, but that the *Jews* did keepe every seventh day, constantly. Its true that *Philo* tels us more then once or twice, how that the *Sabbath* was become a generall Festivall: but that was rather taken up, in imitation of the *Jews*, then practised out of any instinct or light of nature, as we shall see hereafter in a place more proper. Besides which daies before remembred, the second day was consecrate to the *bonus Genius*; the third, and fifteenth, to *Minerva*; the ninth, unto the Sunne; the last, to *Pluto*: and every 20. day kept holy by the *Epicures*. Now as the *Greeks* did consecrate the *New-moones*, and seventh day, to *Phæbus*; the fourth of every moneth, to *Mercury*; and the eighth, to *Neptune*, & sic de ceteris: so every ninth day in the yeare, was by the *Romans* anciently kept sacred unto *Iupiter*; the *Flamines* or *Priests* upon that day, offering a *Ramme* unto him for a sacrifice. *Nundinas Iovis ferias esse*, ait *Granius Licinius*: *siquidem Flaminica omnibus nundinis* [every ninth day] *in regia, Iovi arietem solere immolare*: as in *Macrobius*. So that we see the seventh day was no more in honor, then either the first, fourth, or

De Decalogo.

Hospin. de orig.
Fest. c. 5.

Saturn. l. i. c. 16.

2. Edit. p. 65.

eight; and not so much as was the ninth: this being, as it were, a weekly Festivall; and that, a monethly. A thing so cleare and evident, that Doctor *Bound* could tell us, that the memory of *Weeks* and *Sabbaths* was altogether suppressed and buried amongst the *Gentiles*. And in the former page. But how the memory of the seventh day was taken away amongst the *Romans*, *Ex veteri num-dinarum instituto apparet*, saith *Beroaldus*. And *Satan* did altogether take away from the *Gracians*, the holy memory of the seventh day, by obtruding on them wicked rites of Superstition, which on the eighth day they did keep in honour of *Neptune*. So that besides other holy dayes, the one of them observed the eighth day, and the other the ninth, and neither of them both the seventh as the *Church* doth now, and hath done alwayes from the beginning. Its true, *Diogenes* the *Grammarians*, did hold his disputations constantly upon the *Saturday* or *Sabbath*: and when *Tiberius* at an extraordinary time came to heare his exercises; *In diem septimum distulerat*, the *Pedant* put him off, untill the *Saturday* next following. A right *Diogenes* indeed, & as rightly served. For coming to attend upon *Tiberius*, being then made Emperour; he sent him word, *Vt post annum septimum rediret*, that he would have him come againe the seventh yeare after. But then as true it is, which the same *Suetonius* tells us of *Antonius Gniphos*, a *Grammarians* too, that he taught *Rhetorick* every day; *Declamaret vero non nisi nundinis*, but declaimed onely on the ninth. But then as true it is, which *Iuvenal* hath told us of the *Romane Rhetoricians*, that they pronounced their *Declamations* on the sixth day chiefly.

Suet. in Tiber.
c. 32.

De illustrib.
Grammat.

Nil salit Arcadico iuveni, cuius mihi sextâ

Quâque die, miserum dirum caput Anibal implet.

As the Poet hath it.

All dayes, it seemes, alike to them; the first, fourth, sixth, eighth, ninth, and indeed what not, as much in honour as the

the seventh: whether it were in civil, or in sacred matters (9) I am not ignorant that many goodly Epithetes are by some ancient Poets amongst the *Gracians*, appropriated to this day: which we finde gathered up together, by *Clemens Alexandrinus*, and *Eusebius*; but before either of them, by one *Aristobulus* a learned Jew, who lived about the time of *Ptolomie Philometor* King of *Egypt*. Both *Hesiod* and *Homer*, as they there are cited, give it the title of *ἡμερᾶς ἁγίας* or an holy day, and so it was esteemed amongst them, as before is shewne: but other dayes esteemed as holy. From *Homer* they produce two verses, wherein the Poet seemes to be acquainted with the Worlds Creation, and the perfection of it on the seventh day.

Clem. Strom. l. 5
Euseb. Præpar.
l. 13. c. 12.

Ἐξ ὧμον ἡμερᾶς ἔην, καὶ τῷ τετέλεστο ἅπαντα. καὶ
Ἐξ ὧμᾶτι δὴ οἱ λίσσόμεν ῥόον ἐξ Ἀχέρωντος.

On the seventh day all things were fully done,
On that we left the waves of Acheron.

The like are cited out of *Linus*, as related by *Eusebius*, from the collections of *Aristobulus* before remembered: but are by *Clemens* fattered on *Callimachus*, another of the old Greek Poets; who betweene them thus.

Ἐξ ὧμᾶτι δὴ οἱ τετελεσμένα πάντα τέτυκται. καὶ
Ἐξ ὧμον ἐν ἀγαθοῖς, καὶ ἐξ ὧμον ἐστὶ γενέθλη.
Ἐξ ὧμον ἐν πρῶτοις, καὶ ἐξ ὧμον ἐστὶ τελείη, καὶ
Ἑπτα δὲ πάντα τέτυκται ἐν ἔργῳ ἀσεβέσσι
Ἐν κυκλοῖσι φανέντ' ἐπιτελλομένοις ἐν αὐτοῖς καὶ
Ἐξ ὧμᾶτι δὲ ἔην, καὶ οἱ ἐτέτυκτο ἅπαντα.

Which put together may be thus Englished, in the main, though not verbatim.

On the seventh day all things were made compleat.
The birth-day of the World, most good, most great.
Seven brought forth all things in the starrie skie;
Keeping each yeare their courses constantly.

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This,

This, *Clemens* makes an argument, that not the *Jews* only but the *Gentiles* also, knew that the seventh day had a privilege, yea, and was hallowed above other dayes; on which the world, and all things in it, were complete and finished. And so we grant they did: but neither by the light of nature, nor any observation of that day amongst themselves, more then any other. Not by the light of nature. For *Aristobulus*, from whom *Clemens* probably might take his hint, speakes plainly, that the Poets had consulted with the holy Bible, & from thence sucked this knowledge: ἐκ τῆς ἡμετέρας βιβλίου μεταληφότες, as that Author saith of *Hesiod*, and *Homer*. Which well might be, considering that *Homer* who was the oldest of them, flourished about 500. yeares after *Moses* death; *Callimachus* who was the latest, above 700. yeares after *Homer*'s time. Nor did they speake it out of any observation of that day, more then any other, amongst themselves. The generall practice of the *Gentiles*, before related, hath thoroughly, as we hope, removed that scruple. They which from these words can collect a Sabbath, had need of as good eyes as *Clemens*; who out of *Plato* in his second *de repub.* conceives that he hath found a sufficient warrant for the observing of the Lords day, above all the rest: because it is there said by *Plato*, That such as had for seven dayes solaced in the pleasant Meadows, were to depart upon the eighth, and not returne till foure dayes after. As much a Lords day in the one, as any Sabbath in the other. Indeed the argument is so weak, that some of those, that thought it of especiall weight, have now deserted it, as too light and triviall. *Ryuet* by name, who cites most of these Verses in his notes on *Genesis*, to prove the Sabbath no lesse ancient then the worlds Creation; doth on the *Decalogue*, think them utterly unable to conclude that point, *Nisi aliunde suffulciuntur*, unless they be well backed, with better arguments and authorities, out of other Authors.

(10) Nay,

Ap. Ensteb.

Strom. l. 5.

(10) Nay, more then this, the *Gentiles* were so farre from sanctifying the Sabbath or seventh day, themselves; that they derided those that kept it. The Circumcision of the *Jews*, was not more ridiculous amongst the *Heathens*, then their Sabbaths were; nor were they more extremely scoffed at for the one, then for the other, by all sorts of Writers. *Seneca* layes it to their charge, that by occasion of their Sabbaths, *septimam fere atatis sua partem vacando perdant*, they spent the seventh part of their lives in sloth and idleness: and *Tacitus*, that not the seventh day, but the seventh yeare also, was as unprofitably wasted. *Septimo quoque die otium placuisse ferunt; dein blandiente inertia, septimum quoque annum ignavia datum.* *Moses*, saith hee, had so appointed, because that after a long sixe dayes march, the people became quietly settled on the seventh. *Iuvenal* makes also the same objection, against the keeping of the Sabbath by the Jewish Nation.

Ap. Aug. de civ. Dei, l. 6. c. 11.

Hist. l. 5.

Sat. 14.

— quod septima quaque fuit lux
Ignava, & partem vite non attigit ullam.

Every seventh day in sloth they loose,
And on it no employment use.

And *Ovid* doth not onely call them *peregrina sabbata*, as things with which the *Romans* had but small, and that late acquaintance: but makes them a peculiar marke of the Jewish Religion.

Reme. amor. l. 1.

Quaque die redeunt, rebus minus apta gerendis,
Culta Palestino septima sacra viro.

De Arel. r.

The seventh day comes, for businesse unfit;
Held sacred by the Jew, who halloweth it.

Where by the way, *Tostatus* notes upon these words that
sacra

sacra septima are here ascribed unto the *Jewes*, as their badge or cognizance: which had been most improper, and indeed untrue, *si gentes alia servarent sabbatum*, if any other Nation, specially the *Romans* had observed the same. But to proceed, *Persius* hits them in the teeth with their *recentis sabbata*: and *Martial* scornfully calleth them *Sabbatarians*, in an Epigram of his to *Bassus*, where reckoning up some things of an unfavoury smell, he reckoneth *Sabbatariorum jejunia*, amongst the principall. So *Agatharchides* who wrote the lives of *Alexanders* successours acculeth them of an unspeakable superstition; in that *ἡ δὲ πόλις ἑλιδουπόλις*, they inferred *Ptolomie* to take their City of *Hierusalem*, on a *sabbath* day, rather then stand upon their guard. But that of *Apion*, the great Clerk of *Alexandria*, is the most shamefull and reprochfull of all the rest! Who, to despight the *Jews* the more, and lay the deeper stain upon their *Sabbaths*; relates in his *Egyptian* story, that at their going out of *Egypt*, having travelled for the space of sixe whole dayes, they became stricken with certain inflammations in the privy parts, which the *Egyptians* call by the name of *Sabbo*: *καὶ δὲ τὰ μὲν ἔσθλα τῆ ἐσθλας ἡμέρας ἀνέμειναντο*, and for that cause they were compelled to rest on the seventh day, which afterwards they called the *Sabbath*. Then which, what greater calumny could a malicious Sycophant invent against them? Doubtlesse, those men that speake so despicably and reprochfully of the *Jewish Sabbath*; had never any of their own. Nor did the *Greeks* and *Latines*, and *Egyptians* only out of the plenty, or the redundance rather of their wit, deride and scoff the *Sabbaths* celebrated by those of *Jewry*: it was a scorn that had before been fastned on them, when wit was not so plentifull, as in later times. For so the Prophet *Jeremiab* in his *Lamentations*, made on the death of King *Iosiah*. *The adversaries saw her, and did mock at her Sabbaths*. The *Jewes* must needs be singular in this observation. All Nations else, both *Gracian* and *Barbarian*, had

never

Sat. 5.
L. 4 Ep. 4.

Apud Iosephum
Antiq. l. 12. 1.

Ioseph. adv.
Apion. l. 2.

Cap. 1. v. 7.

never so agreed together, to deride them for it.

(11) Yet we deny not all this while, but that the fourth Comandement, so much therof as is agreeable to the law and light of nature, was not alone imprinted in the minds of the *Gentiles*, but practised by them. For they had *statos dies*, some appointed times, appropriated to the worship of their severall gods, as before was shewed: their *holy-days*, & *half-holy-days*, according to that estimation which their gods had gotten in the World. And this as well to comfort and refresh their spirits, which otherwise had bin spent & wasted with continuall labour; as to do service to those Deities, which they chiefly honoured. *Dii genus hominum laboribus natura pressum miserati, remissionem laborum statuerunt solennia festa*; was the resolution once of *Plato*. But this concludes not any thing, that they kept the *sabbath*, or that they were obliged to keep it, by the law of nature. And where it is conceived by some, that the *Gentiles* by the light of nature had their *weeks*, which is supposed to be an argument that they kept the *Sabbath*; a week being onely of seven dayes, and commonly so called both in *Greece*, and *Latine*: wee on the other side affirme, that by this very rule, the *Gentiles*, many of them, if not the most, could observe no *Sabbath*; because they did observe no *weeks*. For first the *Chaldees*, and the *Persians*, had no *weeks* at all: but to the severall dayes of each severall moneth, appropriated a particular name of some King or other; as the *Peruvians* doe at this present time: *Et nomina diebus mensis indunt, ut prisci Persae*, as *Scaliger* hath noted of them. The *Gracians* also did the like in the times of old: there being an old *Attick* Calendar to be seen in *Scaliger*, wherein is no division of the moneth into *weeks* at all. Then for the *Romans*, they divided their account into eighths and eighths; as the *Jewes* did by sevens and sevens: the one reflecting on their *nundinae*, as the other did upon their *Sabbath*. *Ogdoas Romanorum intributione dierum servabatur propter nundinas, ut hebdomas*

De leg. l. 2.

Purch. Pilgr.
l. 1. c. 4.

Emend. temp. l. 3.

Id. l. 4.

apud

2d l. 1. Edit. 2.

In Levit. 23.
94. 3.

Hist l. 36.

Natural. 7.

apud Iudæos propter Sabbatum. For proof of which there are some ancient *Roman Calendars* to be seen as yet, one in the aforesaid *Scaliger*; the other in the *Roman Antiquities* of *Iohn Rossinus*: wherein the dayes are noted from *A* to *H*, as in our common *Almanacks* from *A* to *G*. The *Mexicans* go a little further, and they have 13 dayes to the week, as the same *Scaliger* hath observed of them. Nay even the *Jewes* themselves, were ignorant of this division of the yeere, into weeks, as *Tostatus* thinks; till *Moses* learnt it of the Lord, in the fall of *Mannah*. Nor were the *Greeks*, & *Romans*, destitute of this accompt; onely whiles they were rude and untrained people, as the *Peruvians* and the *Mexicans* at this present time: but when they were in their greatest flourish for Arts and Empire. *Dion* affirms it for the ancient *Grecians*, that they knew it not; οὐ γὰρ ἀρχαῖοι ἔδυναν ἐξαρτῆσαι αὐτὸ ἡμετέριον, for ought hee could learne: and *Seneca* more punctually, that first they learnt the motions of the Planets, of *Eudoxus*, who brought that knowledge out of *Egypt*; and consequently could not know the weeks before. And for the *Romans*, though they were well enough acquainted with the Planets, in their latter times; yet they divided not their *Calendars* into weeks, as now they doe, till neere about the time of *Dionysius Exiguus*, who lived about the yeere of Christ, 520. Nor had they then received it in all probability, had they not long before admitted Christianity throughout their Empire; and therewithall the knowledge of the holy Scriptures, where the accompt by weeks was exceeding obvious. Therefore according to this rule, the *Chaldees*, *Persians*, *Greeks*, and *Romans*, all the foure great Monarchies, did observe no *Sabbaths*; because they did observe no weeks. Which said in this place once for all, wee resolve it thus: that as the *Israelites* kept no *Sabbath* before the Law, so neither did the *Gentiles* when the Law was given: which prooves it one of *Moses* Ordinances, no prescript of nature.

CHAP.



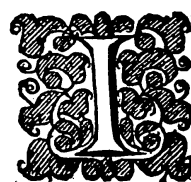
CHAP. V:

The Praẽice of the Jewes in such observances, as were annexed unto the

SABBATH.

(1) Of some particular adjuncts affixed unto the Jewish Sabbath. (2) The Annuall Festivals called *Sabbaths* in the Booke of God, and reckoned as a part of the fourth Commandement. (3) The Annuall *Sabbaths* no lesse solemnely observed and celebrated, then the weekly were; if not more solemnely. (4) Of the *Parasceve* or Preparation to the Sabbath, and the solemn Festivals. (5) All manner of worke, as well forbidden on the Annuall, as the weekly *Sabbaths*. (6) What things were lawfull to be done on the Sabbath dayes. (7) Touching the prohibitions of not kindling fire, and not dressing meat. (8) What moved the *Gentiles*, generally, to charge the *Jews*, with Fasting on the Sabbath day. (9) Touching this Prohibition, Let no man goe out of his place on the Sabbath day. (10) All lawfull recreations, as Dancing, Feasting, Man-like Exercites, allowed and practised by the *Jews* upon their *Sabbaths*.

(1)



Shewed you in the former Chapter, the institution of the *sabbath*, by whom it was first published, and to whom prescribed. It now remaynes to see, how it was observed; how farre the people thought

thought themselves obliged by it; and in what cases they were pleased to dispense therewith. Which that we may the better do, we will take notice first of the Law it selfe, what is contained in the same, what the *sabbath* signifieth: and then of such particular observances, which by particular statutes were affixed by God to the fourth Commandement, either by way of Comment on it, or addition to it; and after were misconstrued by the Scribes, and Pharisees, to insnare the people. And first, not to say any thing in this place, of the *quid nominis*, or derivation of the word, which *Philo* and *Iosephus*, and the *Seventy* doe often render by ἀνάπαυσις, *repose* or *rest*: *sabbath* is used in Scripture to signifie some selected time by God himselfe deputed unto rest and holinesse. Most specially and κατ' ἐξοχήν, it points out unto us the *seventh day*, as that which was first honoured with the name of *Sabbath*, *Exodus* 16. 25. and in the second place those other *Festivals*, which were by God prescribed to the house of *Israel*, and are called *Sabbaths* also, as the others were. Of these the one was *weekly*, and the others *Annual*: the *New-moones* not being honoured with this title in the Book of God, though in Heathen Authours. The *weekly Sabbath* was that day, precisely, whereon God rested from the works which he had made: which he commanded to be kept for a day of rest unto the *Jews*, that so they might the better meditate on the wondrous works, that he had done; every *seventh day* exactly, in a continuall revolution, from time to time. Therefore, saith *Damasce*, when we have reckoned to seven dayes, πάλιν ἀνακινῆται, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης ἀρχεται, our computation of the time runnes round, and begins anew. These as in generall, and κατ' ἐξοχήν, as before I said, they were called *Sabbaths*: so were there some of them that had particular adjuncts, whereby to know them from the rest: whereof the one was *constant*, and the other *casuall*. The *constant adjunct* is that of δευτεροπρωτον σάββατον, or *sabbatum*

De fide Orthod.
l. 4 c. 24.

batum secundoprimum, as the *Latine* renders it: mention whereof is made in Saint *Lukes* Gospel. Our *English* reads it, *on the second Sabbath after the first*. A place and passage which much exercised mens wits, in the former times, and brought forth many strange conceits: untill at last, this, and the Περὶ δὲ σοφιστῶν, and *super fluvios manare fontes*, came to be reckoned in a Proverbe, as preposterous things. *Scaliger* hath of late, untied the knot, and resolved it thus, that all the Weeks or *Sabbaths* from *Pasch* to *Pentecost*, did take their name ἀπὸ τῆς δευτέρας πάλιν, from the second day of the Feast of *Passeover*; that being the *Epoche*, or point of time, from which the fifty dayes were to be accompted by the *Law*: and that the first Weeke or *Sabbath* after the said *second day*, was called δευτεροπρωτον, the second, δευτεροδευτερος the third, δευτεροτριτον, and so the rest. According to which reckoning, the *second Sabbath after the first*, as we translate it, must be the first *Sabbath* ἀπὸ τῆς δευτέρας, from the second day of the *Passeover*. The *casuall adjunct* is, that sometimes there was a *Sabbath* that was called μέγα σάββατον, the *great Sabbath*; or as it is in Saint *Iohns* Gospel μεγάλη ἡμέρα τῶ σάββατου, *magnum ille dies Sabbati*, as the *Latine* hath it. And is so called not for its owne sake, for *Casaubon* hath rightly noted, nunquam eam appellationem sabbato tributam reperiri propter ipsum: but because then, as many other times it did, the *Passeover* did either fall, or else was celebrated on a *Sabbath*. Even as in other cases, and at other times, when any of the greater and more solemne Festivals did fall upon the *Sabbath* day, they used to call it, *Sabbatum sabbatorum*, a *sabbath of sabbaths*. εἰς τὴν ἡμέραν τὴν σάββατον συνέπιπτε, σάββατα σάββατων ἐκαλεῖτο, as *Isidore Pelusiotes* notes it.

(2) For that the *Annual Feasts* were called *Sabbaths* too, is most apparant in the Scriptures; especially *Levit.* 23. where both the *Passeover*, the Feast of *Trumpets*, the

Cap. 6. 1.

Casaub. Exerc.
14 n. 1.

Emend. Temp.
lib. 6.

Cap 19 31.

Exerc. 16. n. 31.

Epist. 110. l. 3.

Hom. in Matth.
39:

L. 1. Sat. 9.

Emend. Temp.
lib. 3.De Sabbat. &
Circumcis.In Num. 28.
hom. 23.

Exer. 14. n. 1.

Emend. Temp.
Proleg. Edit.

the Feast of *Expiation*, and the Feast of *Tabernacles*, are severally entituled by the name of *Sabbaths*. The Fathers also note the same, *Σάββατον ἐκείνην ἁγίαν καλεῖται*, saith Saint *Chrysostome*: and *σάββατον πᾶσαν ἑορτὴν καλεῖται*, saith *Isidore*, in the place before remembred. Even the *New-moones*, amongst the *Gentiles*, had the same name also; as may appeare by that of *Horace*, who calls them in his *Satyres*, *Tricesima sabbata*, because they were continually celebrated every thirtieth day. The like they did by all the rest, if *Joseph Scaligers* note be true, as I thinke it is; who hath affirmed expresly, *Omnes festivitates Iudaeae non solum Iudaeos, sed & Gentiles, sabbatum vocare*. Nay, as the *weekly Sabbaths*, some of them had their proper adjuncts: so had the *annuall*. Saint *Athanasius* tells us of the Feast of *Expiation*, that it was *σάββατον σαββάτων*, or the *principall Sabbath*: for so I take it is his meaning: which selfe same attribute is given by *Origen*, to the Feast of *Trumpets*. *Clemens* of *Alexandria*, 6. *Stromat.* brings in a difference of those Festivalls, out of a supposed worke of Saint *Peter* the Apostle: wherein, besides the *New-moons*, and *Passcover*, which are thereto named, they are distributed into *σάββατον πρῶτον ἑορτὴν καὶ μεγάλην ἡμέραν*, or the *first Sabbath*, the Feast *κατ' ἐξοχὴν* so called, and the *Great day*. *Casaubon* for his part protesteth, *ipsi obscurum esse quid sit Sabbatum primum*, that he was yet to seek what should the meaning be of that *first Sabbath*. But *Scaliger* conceives, and not improbably, that by this *first Sabbath*, or *πρῶτον σάββατον*, was meant the Feast of *Trumpets*, because it was *caput anni*, or the beginning of the civill yeere: the same which *Origen* calls *Sabbatum sabbatorum*, as before we noted. As for the Feast *κατ' ἐξοχὴν* so named in *Clemens*, that hee conceives to be the Feast of *Pentecost*; and the *great day* in him remembred, the Feast of *Tabernacles*: for the which last, he hath authority in the Scriptures, who tell of the *Great day* of this very Feast, *Joh. 7. 37*. Not that the Feast

of

of *Tabernacles* was alone so called, but in a more especiall manner: For there were other dayes so named, besides the *Sabbaths*. *Dies observatio*, saith *Tertullian*, & *sabbata*, *ut opinor*, & *cenas puras*, & *jejunia*, & *dies magnos*. Where *sabbata* & *dies magni*, are distinguished plainly. Indeed it stood with reason that these *annuall Sabbaths*, should have the honour also of particular adjuncts, as the *weekly* had: being all founded upon one & the same *Commandement*. *Philo* affirms it for the *Iewes*, τὸ δὲ τέταρτον " τὸ περὶ τὸ ἐβδομαῖον, &c. The fourth Commandement, " saith he, is of the Sabbath, and the Festivalls, of Vowes, of " Sacrifices, formes of purifying, and other parts of divine worship. Which is made good by *Zanchie* for the Christian Writers, who in his worke upon the *Decalogue* doth resolve it thus, *Sabbati nomine ad Iudaeos quod attinebat, Deus intellexit non solum sabbatum septem dierum, sed sabbata etiam annorum, item omnia festa, quae " per Moysen illis explicavit*. By Sabbath, saith that *Author* God doth signifie, not onely the *weekly Sabbath*, but the *Sabbath* of yeares, and all the other " Feasts, which hee commanded to the *Jewes*, by his " servant *Moses*. So he, in his exposition on the fourth " Commandement. It was the *Morall* part of the fourth Commandement, that some time should be set apart for Gods publicke service: and in the body of that Law it is determined of that time, that it should bee one day in seven. Yet not exclusively, that there should bee no other time appointed, either by God, or by his Church, then the seventh day onely. God therefore added other times, as to him seemed best, the list whereof wee may behold in the twenty third of *Leviticus*: and the Church too by Gods example, added also some, as namely the Feast of *Dedication*, and that of *Purim*.

(3) Now as the *Annuall Festivalls* ordained by God, had the name of *Sabbath*, as the *weekly* had: so

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the

Contr. Martian

De Decalog.

In Mandat. 4.

the observances in them were the same, or not much different. If in some things, the *weekly Sabbaths* seemed to have preheminance, the *Annually Sabbaths* went beyond them, in some others also. For the continuance of these Feasts, the *weekly Sabbath* was to be observed throughout their generations, for a perpetuall covenant, *Ex. 31. 16.* So for the *Passeover*, you shall observe it throughout your generations, by an ordinance for ever. *Exod. 12. 14.* The like of *Pentecost*, it shall be a statute for ever, throughout your generations; *Leviticus 23. 21.* So also for the Feast of *Expiation*, *Leviticus 23. 31.* and for the Feast of *Tabernacles*, *Levit. 23. 41.* Where note, that by these words for ever, and throughout their generations, it is not to be understood that these *Jewish Festivalls* were to be perpetuall; for then they would oblige us now, as they did the *Jewes*: but that they were to last as long, as the Republick of the *Jewes* should stand; and the *Mosaicall Ordinances* were to be in force. *Per generationes vestras*, i.e. *quam diu Respub. Iudaica constaret*, as *Tostatus* notes upon this twenty third of *Leviticus*. For the solemnity of these Feasts, the presence of the *high Priests* was as necessary in the one, as in the other. The *high Priests* also (saith *Iosephus*) ascended with the *Priests* into the Temple, and in *dei*, and yet not alwayes, but onely on the *Sabbaths*, and *New-moones*, *ἐν τοῖς ἡμέραις τοῖς κυριακαῖς καὶ τῇ πρώτῃ τῆς μηνὸς*, as also on those other Feasts, and *solemne assemblies*, which yearly were to be observed, according unto the custome of the Country. And hitherto, wee finde no difference at all: but in the manner of the rest, there appeares a little, between the *weekly Sabbath*, and some of the *Annually*. For of the *weekly Sabbath* it is said expressly, that thou shalt doe no manner of worke: as on the other side, of the *Passeover*, the *Pentecost*, the Feast of *Trumpets*, and of *Tabernacles*, that they shall do no servile work: which being well examined, will be found the same in sense, though not in found. But then again for sense and found,

De bello, l. 6. c. 6

Levit. 23. 7, 21,
25, 36.

found it is expressly said of the *Expiation*, that therein thou shalt do no manner of work, as was affirmed before of the *weekly Sabbath*. So that besides the *seventh day Sabbath*, there were *seven Sabbaths* in the yeare, in sixe of which, viz. the first and seventh of *unleavened bread*, the day of *Pentecost*, the Feast of *Trumpets*, and the first and eighth day of the Feast of *Tabernacles*, they were to doe no servile works and on the *Expiation day*, no worke at all. So that in this respect the *weekly Sabbath* and the day of *Expiation* were directly equall, according to the very letter. In other things the day of *Expiation* seemes to have preheminance: first, that upon this day onely, the *high Priest*, *omnibus pontificalibus indumentis indutus*, attired in his *Pontificalls* might goe into the *Sanctum Sanctorum*, or the holiest of all, to make attonement for the people; whereof see *Levit. 16.* And secondly, in that the sacrifices for this day were more, and greater, then those appointed by the Lord for the *weekly Sabbaths*: which last is also true of the other *Festivalls*. For where the sacrifice appointed for the *weekly Sabbath*, consisted onely of two *Lambes*, over and above the *daily sacrifice*; with a *meat-offering* and a *drink-offering* thereunto proportioned: on the *New-moones*, and all the *Annually Sabbaths* before remembred, the *Sacrifices* were enlarged, nay, more then trebled; as is expressed in the 28. and 29 of the booke of *Numbers*. Nay, if it hapned any time as some times it did, that any of these *Festivalls* did fall upon the *weekly Sabbath*; or that two of them, as the *New-moone*, and the Feast of *Trumpets*, fell upon the same: the service of the *weekly Sabbath* lessened not at all, the sacrifices destinate to the *Annually Sabbath*; but they were all performed in their severall turns. The Text it self affirms as much, in the two Chapters before specified: and for the practice of it, that so it was, it is apparant to be seen in the *Hebrew Calendars*. Onely the difference was this, as *Rabbi Maimony* informes us, that the addition of the

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Ap. Ainsworth,
in Num. 18.

Sabbath was first performed; and after, the addition of the *New-moone*, and then the addition of the *Good day*, or other *Festivall*. So that in case the *weekly Sabbath* had a priviledge above the *Annvall*; in that the *Shew-bread* or the *loaves of proposition*, were onely set before the Lord on the *weekly Sabbaths*: the *Annvall Sabbaths*, seeme to have had amends, all of them in the multiplicity of their *sacrifices*; and three of them in the great solemnity and concourse of people. For it is manifest in the Scripture, that all the people of *Israel* were bound to appeare before the Lord on those three great Festivals; the *Passeover*, the *Pentecost*, and the *Feast of Tabernacles*. As for the penalty inflicted on the breakers of these solemne Festivals, it is expressly said of the *weekly Sabbath*, that *who-soever doth any worke therein shall bee put to death*; *Exodus 31.15.* and in the Verse before, *That who-soever doth any worke therein, that soule shall be cut off* (or as the *Chaldee Paraphrase* reads it, that *man shall be destroyed*) from amongst his people. Which if it signifie the same, as by the *Chaldee Paraphrase* it seemes to doe; it is no more, then what is elsewhere said of the *Expiation*, for so saith the Text. *And what-soever soule it be, that doth any worke in that same day, that soule will I destroy from amongst his people.* But if the phrased be different, as the *Rabbins* say, the difference is no more, then this; that they which break the *weekly Sabbath*, are to be put to death by the *Civill Magistrate*: and they which work upon the *Feast of Expiation*, shall be cut off by God, by untimely deaths. As for the other *Annvall Sabbaths*, the *Rabbins* have determined thus, that who-soever doth in any of them, such works as are not necessary for food, as if he build, or pul downe, or weave, and the like, hee breaketh a Commandement, and transgresseth against this prohibition, *ye shall not doe any servile worke*: and if hee doe, and there be witnesses and evident prooffe, hee is by law to be beaten or scourged for it. So that we see, that whe-

Levit. 23.30.

Ap. Answer.
in Levit. 23.7.

ther we regard the institution, or continuance of these severall *Sabbaths*; or the solemnities of the same, either in reference to the Priests, the Sacrifices, and concourse of people; or finally the punishment inflicted on the breakers of them; the difference is so little, it is scarce remarkable: considering especially, that if the *weekly Sabbaths* do gain in one point, they loose as often in another. For the particulars, wee shall speake of them hereafter, as occasion is. Onely I adde, by way of observation from the former premises, that by the same reason, on which some have laboured a continuance of the *Sabbath day*; they may as well bring into the Church, all the *Jewish Festivals*: as being grounded all on the fourth Commandement; and otherwise so equall in all observance.

(4) As for the time, when they began their *Sabbaths*, and when they ended them; they tooke beginning on the Evening of the day before, and so continued till the evening of the Feast it selfe. The Scripture speaks it onely, as I remember of the *Expiation*; which is appointed by the Lord to be observed on the *tenth day of the seventh moneth*, *Levit. 23.27.* yet so that it is ordered thus in the 31. *It shall be unto you a Sabbath of rest, and yee shall afflict your soules on the ninth day of the moneth, at even.* And then it followeth, *From even to even shall yee celebrate your Sabbath.* But in the practice of the *Jewes*, it was so in all: either because they tooke those words for a general precept; or else because they commonly did accompt their day from even to even. For where the *Romans* and *Egyptians* began the day at midnight; the *Chaldees*, and the *Persians*, with the rising Sunne; and the *Vmbri*, an *Italian* people, reckoned theirs from noone to noone: the *Jews* and the *Athenians* took the beginning of their day, *ab occasu solis*, from Sun-setting, as *Scaliger* and divers others have observed. Yet sure I am, *Honorius Augustodunensis*, who lived foure hundred yeares agoe and upwards, placeth the *Jews* together with the *Persians* and

Emerd. Temp.
l. 1.De imagin.
mundi, l. 2.

Chaldeans, as men that doe begin their day at the *Sun-rising*. However, in this case it is not to be thought, that the *even* was any part of the Sabbath following (for the *additionall sacrifices* were offered onely on the *morning* and the *evening* of the severall *Sabbaths*;) but a *ᾠδὴ*, or preparation thereunto: which preparation if it were before the *weekly sabbath*, it was called *παρασκευή*: if before any of the *Annually*, it was called *εὐσεβία*. In imitation of the *Gentiles*, the *Latine* Writers call these *Parasceves* or *Evens* of Preparation, by the name of *Cœna pura*, as *Augustine* noteth upon the nineteenth of Saint *Iohn*; because of some resemblance that was betwene them: but yet they had a difference too. For *Casaubon* hath taught us this, that in the *Cœna pura* amongst the *Gentiles*, a part of the Ceremony did consist in the choice of meats: where no such thing occurs at all, in these preparations of the *Jews*. Now these *Parasceves* or *Preparation* dayes, the *Jews* did afterward divide into these foure parts. The first was *ὑποπαρασκευή*, a preparative, as it were, to the preparation, which began in the morning, and held on till noone. The second was *ᾠδή* largely taken, from noon, untill the evening sacrifice of the day: the third was *πρινὸς τῆς σάββατος*, or the approaching of the *sabbath*, which began after the evening sacrifice, continued till Sun-set, and was properly called the *ᾠδὴ*, the fourth was the *παρασκευὴ τῆς σάββατος*, or entrance of the *Sabbath*, which lasted from Sun-set unto the dawning of the day. They had amongst them a Tradition, or a custome rather, that on the whole day, from the *ὑποπαρασκευή* till Sun-set, they might not travaile above twelve miles: lest comming home too late, they might not have sufficient leisure, to prepare things before the *Sabbath*. The time was, as *Buxtorfius* tells us, *quo cornu vel inflata tuba daretur signum*, when there was publick warning given by sound of *Trumpet*, that every man should cease from worke, and make all things ready for the *Sabbath*: though in these dayes, the *Clerke* or

Exer. 16. n. 106.

Synag. indic. 10.

Sexton goeth about from doore to doore, to give notice of it. The time was so indeed, So *Iosephus* tells us, that "in *Ierusalem* one of the Priests continually standing " upon a Pillar, *ἐκείνῳ ἐβόωντο ἐν ᾧ αὐτῷ ἀκούοντο οὐρανὸν* *ἄλυσιν*, made knowne upon the even before by sound of " Trumpet, what time the *Sabbath* did begin; and on " the evening of the *Sabbath*, at what time it ended: " that so the people might be certified, both at what " time to rest from labour; and at what time they might " againe apply their mindes and hands unto it. Now what *Iosephus* saith of the *weekly Sabbath*, the same was done, saith *Philo*, in the *New-moones* also: *τὴν Τετραμηνίαν ἐν ἡμέρῃ τῇ τετραμηνίαν*, which is much alike. And consequently we may say the same of the *Annually Sabbaths*, in which the *sonnes of Aaron* were to blow the *Trumpets*, as well as in the *New-moones*, or the *weekly Sabbaths*. As for the works prohibited or permitted on these dayes of preparation, whether before the *weekly* or the *Annually Sabbaths*, I finde little difference. This I am sure of, that it was as much unlawfull for the *Judges* to sit on any *capital* crimes, the day before the *Annually Sabbath*, as before the *weekly*: and the reason was, because the *morrow after*, of which sort soever, was thought to be no fit day for execution. *Indices rerum Capitalium non judicant in parasceve Sabbati, aut in parasceve diei festi, quia non debet id fieri: & rem occidi postridie non potest*. So saith *Rabbi Maimony*. Of the ridiculous nicety of the *moderne Jews*, in these *Parasceves*, we shall speak hereafter.

De Bell. 1. 5. c. 9

Num. 10. 10.

Ap. Casaub. Exc. 10. n. 20.

(5) To come unto the day it selfe, it is said expressly in the *Law*, that therein thou shalt do no manner of worke. What, no work at all? How could they eat and drink, and put on their clothes? These are some manner of works, yet done every *Sabbath*: yea, by the *Pharisees* themselves, which were most strict observers of the *weekly Sabbaths*. *Quis Pharisaorum*, saith Saint *Microm*,

In Matth. 23.

In Mandat. 4.

In Esa. 58. 13.

in die Sabbati non extendit manum, portans cibum, porrigens calicem, & cetera quæ victui sunt necessaria. Which of the Pharisees, saith he, doth not upon the Sabbath day, stretch out his hand, and take his meat, and reach his cup; and whatsoever else appertains to victuals? yet all these were works. How could they circumcise, and offer sacrifice, and set on the shew-bread on the Sabbath? Surely all these are works too; some of them very troublesome: yet commonly performed on the weekly Sabbath, of which more anon. Therefore when all is done, we must expound these words, of ordinary and servile labours, such as are toyle some in themselves, and ayme at profit. Zanchie, I am sure, doth expound them so. *Nomen operis quod hic habet Moses, non significat opus simpliciter, sed opus quod propter opes comparandas suscipitur: Tale autem opus est vere servile.* The name of worke, saith he, which here Moses useth, signifieth not simply and properly any kinde of worke: but workes which chiefly are undertaken on hope of profit: which kinde of works are truly servile. Saint Hierome also expounds it, *Lege præceptum est ne in Sabbatis opus servile faciamus, &c.* We are commanded in the Law, to do no servile works on the Sabbath dayes. And on the fifth of Amos he affirms the same; *Labet ne quid in eo operis servilis fiat, &c.* And so Tertullian; *Nec dubium este opus servile operatos, &c.* in his second Book against Marcion. If so, there is no difference at all betweene the weekly, and the Annall Sabbaths, in this one particular; because all servile works, expressly, are forbidden in them also, as before we shewed. But take it in the very words, *No manner of worke*: and aske the Hebrew Doctors, what they meane thereby. They will then tell you first, there must be no marketting, no nor buying of victuals; for which they cite the 13. of Nehemiah, Vers. 16, 17. nor no embalming of the dead, in which they vouch Saint Lukes Gospel, Chap. 27. Vers. 54, 56. This we

we acknowledge for a truth, but then we say withall, that neither of these two were lawfull on the Annall Sabbaths. For when it happened any time, as sometimes it did, that a weekly Sabbath and an annall Sabbath, came next dayes together: the Iews did commonly in their later times, put off the Annall Sabbath to a farther day. And this they did, as themselves tell us, because of burials, and of meats which were fit for eating: left by deferring either the one or the other, the carcases should putrifie, and the meats be spoyled. *Non facimus duo Sabbata continua, propter olera, & propter mortuos, ut Rabbini distitant.* Which need not be, in case they held it lawfull either to bury, or to buy, on the annall Sabbaths. They tell us next, that the Iews could not travell on the weekly Sabbath, and this from Exod. 16. 29. Whether that Text were so intended, we shall see anon. But sure I am, that when the Iews began to reckon it an unlawfull matter, to travell on the weekly Sabbath; they held it altogether as unlawfull, to travell on the Annall Sabbaths. Nic. Damascen reporteth (as Iosephus tells us) how that Antiochus the great King of Syria, erected a Trophee neare the floud Lycus, and abode there two dayes, at the request of Hyrcanus the King of Iewrie; by reason of a solemne Feast at that time, whereon it was not lawfull for the Iews to travell. In which, he was no wise mistaken. For (saith Iosephus) the Feast of Pentecost was that yeare the morrow after the Sabbath, (for at that trouble some time, the Pentecost was not deferred) what then? It followeth, *ἐκ ὅτι δὲ ἡμεῖς ἐν τοῖς σάββατο, καὶ ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ* "ὁδεῖται, and unto us it is not lawfull, either upon our Sabbaths, or our Feasts, to journey any whither. They tell us also, that it is not lawfull to execute a malefactor on the weekly Sabbath, although it be commanded that he must be punished: nor do they do it on the Feasts, or Annall Sabbaths, as before we noted. As also that

Ap Casaub. Ex. etc. 16. n. 20.

Ioseph. Antiq. l. 13. c. 16.

that it is not lawfull to marry on the Sabbath day, nor on the *Even* before the Sabbath, nor the morrow after; lest they pollute the Sabbath by dressing meat for the Feast: and on the *solemne Festivals* or the *Annvall Sabbaths*, they were not suffered to be married; lest, say the *Rabbins*, the joy of the Festivall be forgotten, through the joy of the wedding. The many other trifling matters, which have beene prohibited by the *Jewish Doctors*, and are now practised by that senselesse and besotted people, shall somewhere be presented to you, towards the end of this first Book.

(6) Againe, demand of these great *Doctors*, since it is said expressly, that we shall do *no manner of worke*, whether there be at all no case, in which it may be lawfull to do work on the Sabbath day: and then they have as many shifts to put off the Sabbath; as they had niceties before, wherewithall to beautifie it. A woman is in travaile on the Sabbath day; is it not lawfull for the *Midwife* to discharge her duty; although it be for gaine, and her usuall trade? Yes, saith that great Clerk *Rabbi Simon*, *propter puerum unius diei vivum, solvunt Sabbatum*; To save a childe alive, we may breake the Sabbath. This childe being borne, must needs be circumcised on the eight day after, which is the Sabbath: May not the Ministers do their office? yes: for the *Rabbins* have a *maxime*, that *Circumcisio pellit Sabbatum*. And what? doth onely *Circumcision* drive away the Sabbath? No, any common danger doth it: And then they change the phrase a little, *Et periculum mortis pellit Sabbatum*. Nay more, the *Priest* that waiteth at the *Altar*, doth he do no work upon the Sabbath? yes more then on the other dayes, and for that too they have a *maxime*, viz. *Qui observari iussit Sabbatū, is profanari iussit Sabbatū*. He which commanded that the Sabbath should be sanctified, commanded also that it should be profaned. We shall meet with some of these again, hereafter. Therefore we must expound these

Ap. Ains in
Levit. 23.

Pet. Galatin 1.
11. 6 10.

Ap. Casaub. Ex.
10. 2. 20.

these words, *No manner of work*, i. e. no kinde of *servile work*, as before we did; or else the *weekly Sabbath* & the fourth Commandment, must be a *nose of waxe*, and a *Lesbian rule*, fit onely to be wrested and applyed, to whatsoever end and purpose it shall please the *Rabbins*. More warily and more soundly have the *Christian Doctors*, yea, and the very *Heathens* determined of it: who judge that all such corporall labours, as tend unto the morall part of the fourth Commandment, which are rest and sanctity; were fit and lawfull to be done on the Sabbath day. That men should rest upon such times, as are designed and set apart for Gods publicke service, and leave their *daily labours* till some other season; the *Gentiles* knew full well by the light of nature. Therefore the *Flamines* were to take especiall care, *Ne feriis opus fieret*, that no work should be done on the *solemne dayes*; and to make knowne by proclamation, *Ne quid tale ageretur*, that no man should presume to do it. Which done, if any one offended, he was forthwith mulcted, yet was not this enjoyned so strictly, that no worke was permitted in what case soever. All things which did concerne the Gods, and their publicke worship, *Vel ad urgentem vitæ utilitatem respicerent*, or were important, any way, to mans life and welfare; were accounted lawfull. More punctually *Scevola*, being then chiefe *Pontifex*. Who being demanded what was lawfull to be done on the *Holy dayes*, made answer, *Quod prætermissum noceret*, that which would probably miscarry, if it were left undone. He therefore that did underprop a ruinous building, or raise the cattell that was fallen into the ditch; did not breake the *Holy-day*, in his opinion. No more did he that washed his sheep, *si hoc remedii causa fieret*, were it not done to cleanse the wooll, and make it ready for the *shearers*; but onely for the cure of some sore or other: according unto that of *Virgil*, *Balantumque gregem flavo mersare salubri*. Thus farre the *Gentiles* have resolved

Macrobi. Sat.
l. 1 c. 16.

Georgic.

solved it, agreeably to the *Law of nature*: and so farre do the Christian *Doctors*, yea, and our Lord and Saviour determine of it. The corporall labours of the Priest on the *Sabbath day*, as farre as it concernes *Gods service*, were accounted lawfull: *The Priests in the Temple break the Sabbath, and yet were blamelesse*. So was the corporall labour of a man, either to save his owne life, or preserve anothers. *Christ* justified his *Disciples* for gathering Corne upon the *Sabbath*, being then an hungred, *Matth. 12. Vers. 1. & 3.* and restored many unto health on the *Sabbath day*, *Matth. 12. 13.* and in other places. Finally, corporall labours to preserve *Gods creatures*, as to draw the *sheepe* out of the *pit*, *Matth. 12. 11* and consequently to save their Cattel from the Thiefe; a ruinous house from being over-blowne by tempest; their Corne and hay also from a sudden inundation; these and the like to theie, were all judged lawfull on the *Sabbath*. And thus you see, the *practice* of the *Gentiles* governed by the *light of nature*, is every way conformable to our Saviours *doctrine*: and the best *Comment* also on the fourth *Commandment*, as farre as it containes the *law of nature*.

(7) For such particular ordinances, which have been severally affixed to the fourth *Commandment*, either by way of *Comment* on it, or addition to it: that which is most considerable, is that prohibition in the 35. of *Exod.* viz. *Ye shall kindle no fire throughout your habitations on the sabbath day*. The *Rabbins*, some of them, conceive, that hereby is meant that no man must be beaten, or put to death upon the *Sabbath*: and then it must be thus expounded, *Ye shall kindle no fire*, i.e. to burne a man upon the *Sabbath*, who is condemned by the *Law* to that kind of death; and consequently not to put him on that day, unto any punishment at all. Others of late, referre that prohibition unto the building of the *Tabernacle*, in that Chapter mentioned: and then the meaning will be this, that

Exod. 12. 4

that they should make no fire on the *Sabbath day*, no, though it were to hasten on the worke of the *holy Tabernacle*. *Philo* restraines it chiefly unto manuell Trades, *μαλιστα δὲ τοὺς ποιεῖσιν ἔργα χειρὸς ζήτειν*, such whereby men do get their livings: and then it must be thus interpreted, *Ye shall not kindle any fire*, that is, to do any common, ordinary, and servile works, like as do common Bakers, Smiths, and Brewers, by making it part of their usuall trade. The later *Rabbins*, almost all; and many Christian Writers also, taking the hint from *Vatablus*, and *Tremellius*, in their Annotations; referre it unto dressing of meat, according to the latter custome. Nay, generally the *Jews* in the later times, were more severe and rigid in the exposition of that Text; and would allow no fire at all, except in sacred matters onely. For whereas *R. Aben Ezra* had so expounded it, *Quod liceat ignem accendere ad calefaciendum, siurgeret frigus*, That it was lawfull to make a fire wherewith to warme ones selfe, in the extremity of cold weather, though not to dresse meat with it for that dayes expence: the *Rabbins* generally would have proceeded against him as an Hereticke; and purposely writ a Booke in confutation of him, which they called the *Sabbath*. How this interpretation was thus generally received, I cannot say. But I am verily perswaded, that it was not so in the beginning: and that those words of *Moses*, *Qua coquenda sunt, hodie coquite, Bake that which ye will bake to day, and seeth what ye will seeth*, Which words are commonly produced to justifie and confirme this fancie; do prove quite contrary, to what some would have them. The Text and Context both make it plaine and manifest, that the *Jews* baked their *Alannab* on their *Sabbath day*. The people, on the sixth day, had gathered twice as much as they used to do, whereof the *Rulers of the Congregation* acquainted *Moses*. And *Moses said*, *To morrow is the rest of the holy Sabbath unto the Lord: bake that which ye will bake*

Deut. Mos. 1. 3.

Toslat. in Jos. 6. 9. 2.

Exod. 16. 23.

bake to day, and seeth what ye will seeth, and that which remaineth over, lay up to be kept untill the morning. i. e. As much as you conceive will be sufficient for this present day, that bake or boyle, according as you use to do: and for the rest, let it be laid by, to be baked or boyled to morrow, that you may have wherewith to feed you, on the Sabbath day. That this interpretation is most true and proper, appears by that which followeth in the holy Scripture: viz. *They laid it up as Moses bade, and it did not stinke, neither was any worme therein*; as that which they had kept till morning, on some day before, *Vers. 20.* This makes it evident, that the *Mannah* was laid up unbaked: for otherwise, what wonder had it beene at all, that it did neither breed worme, nor stinke, had it beene baked the day before. Things of that nature, so preserved, are farre enough from putrifying in so short a time. This, I am verily perswaded was the practice then: and for this light unto that practice, I must ingenuously confesse my selfe obliged to *Theophilus Braborne*, the first that ever looked so neare into *Moses* meaning. And this most likely, was the practice of the *Jews* in after times, even till the *Pharisees* had almost made the word of God of no effect, by their traditions: for then came in those many rigid ordinances about this day, which made the day & them ridiculous, unto all the *Heathens*. Sure I am that the Scriptures call it a day of gladnesse, for it was a Festivall; and therefore probable it is, that they had good cheere. And I am sure that *D. Bound*, the Founder of these Sabbatarian fancies, though he conceive that dressing meat upon the Sabbath, was by the words of *Moses*, utterly unlawfull in the time of *Mannah*: yet he conceives withall, that that Commandment, was proper onely unto the time of *Mannah*, in the *Wildernesse*, and so to be restrained unto that time onely. Therefore, by his confession, the *Jews* for after times might as well dresse their meat on the Sabbath day, as on any other: notwithstanding

Vers. 24.

Chap. 4.

2. Edit. p. 137.
138.

standing this injunction of not kindling fire. Indeed why not as well dresse meat; as serve it in: the attendance of the servant at his Masters Table, being no lesse considerable on the Sabbath day, then of the Cooks about the Kitchen: especially in those riotous and excessive Feasts, which the *Jews* kept upon this day, in their later times.

(8) I say those riotous and excessive Feasts which the *Jews* kept upon that day; and I have good authoritie for what I say. Saint *Augustine* tels us of them, they kept the Sabbath, onely * *ad luxuriam & ebrietatem*, in rioting and drunkennesse; and that they rested onely * *ad nugas & luxurias suas*, to luxury and wantonnesse; that they consumed the day, *languido, & luxurioso otio*, in an effeminate slothfull ease; and finally did abuse the same, not onely * *deliciis Iudaicis*, in *Jewish* follies, but *ad nequitiam*, even to sinne and naughtinesse. Put all together, and we have luxury and drunkennesse, and sports, and pleasures; enough to manifest that they spared not any dainties to set forth their Sabbath. Nay, *Plutarch* layes it to their charge, that they did feast it on their Sabbath, with no small excesse; but of Wine especially. Who thereupon conjectureth, that the name of Sabbath, had its originall from the *Orgies*, or Feasts of *Bacchus*: whose Priest used often to ingeminate the word *Sabbi, Sabbi*, in their drunken Ceremonies. Which being so, it is the more to be admired, that generally the *Romans* did upbraid this people with their *Sabbaths* fast. *Augustus* having been at the *Bathes*, and fasting there a long time together; gives notice of it to *Tiberius*, thus: *ne Iudæus quidem tam diligenter Sabbatis jejunium servat*; that never any *Iew* had fasted more exactly on their *Sabbaths* then hee did that day. So *Martiall* reckoning up some things of unfavoury smell, names amongst others, *jejunia sabbatariorum*; for by that name he did contemptuously mean the *Iewes*, as before I noted. And where the *Romans* in thole times, began, some of them, to incline to the *Jewish* Ceremonies,

* *Tract. in Job.*
* *De 10 chordis*
c. 3.
* *In Psal. 91.** *In Psal. 32.** *Sympo. 1. fac. 1. 4.** *Sueton. in Othone*
c. 76.

Sat. 5.

Hiß. 436.

Ap. Baton.
A. 34. M. 156.

Cap. 8. 2, 3.

Vers. 10. 12.

nies, and were observant of the *Sabbath*; as wee shall see hereafter in a place more proper: *Perſum* objects against them this, *labra monent taciti, recutitaque sabbata pallent*, i.e. that being *Romans*, as they were, they muttered out their Prayers as the *Jews* accustomed; and by observing of the Fast, on the *Jewish Sabbaths*, grew leane and pale for very hunger. So saith *Petronius Arbitr*, that the *Jews* did celebrate their *Sabbath jejunia lege*, by a legall Fast: and *Iustin* yet more generally, *septimum diem more gentis Sabbatum appellatum in omne avum jejuniis sacravit*, *Moses*, that *Moses* did ordaine the *Sabbath*, to be a fasting day for ever. That the *Jews* fasted very often, sometimes twice a week, the *Pharisee* hath told us in Saint *Lukes Gospel*: and probably the *jejunia Sabbatariorum* in the Poet *Martial*, might reflect on this. But that they fasted on the *Sabbath*, is a thing repugnant both to the Scriptures, Fathers, and all good antiquity: except in one case onely, which was when their City was besieged, as *Rabbi Moses Egyptius* hath resolved it. Nay, if a man had fasted any time upon the *Sabbath*, they used to punish him in this sort, *ut sequenti etiam die jejunaret*, to make him fast the next day after. Yet on the other side, I cannot but conceive that those before remembred, had some ground or reason, why they did charge the *Jews* with the *Sabbaths Fast*: for to suppose them ignorant of the *Jewish* custome, considering how thick they lived amongst them, even in *Rome* it selfe, were a strange opinion. The rather since by *Plutarch*, who lived not long after *Sueton*, if he lived not with him; the *Jews* are generally accused for too much riot and excesse, upon that day. For my part, I conceive it thus. I finde in *Nehemiah*, that when the people were returned from the captivity, *Ezra the Priest* brought forth the *Law* before the Congregation, and read it to them from the morning untill mid-day: which done, they were dismissed by *Nehemiah* to eat, and drinke, and make great joy; which they did accordingly. This was upon the first,

Vers. 18.

In vit. sua.

Syn Iudæ. 10.

first day of the Feast of *Tabernacles*, one of the solemn *Annvall Sabbaths*: and this they did for eight dayes together, from the first day unto the last that the Feast continued. After when as the Church was settled, and that the *Law* was read amongst them in their *Synagogues*, on the *weekly Sabbaths*; most probable it is, that they continued the same custome, holding the Congregation from morne to noone: and that the *Jews* came thither fasting, (as generally men do now unto the Sacrament) the better to prepare themselves, and their attention, for that holy exercise. Sure I am that *Josephus* tells us, that at mid-day they used to dismiss the Assemblies, that being the ordinary houre for their repast: as also that *Buxdorsius* saith of the *moderne Jews*, that *ultra tempus meridianum jejunare non licet*, It is not lawfull for them to fast beyond the noon-tide on the *Sabbath dayes*. Besides, they which found so great fault with our Lords Disciples, for eating a few eares of Corne on the *Sabbath day*, are not unlikely, in my minde to have ayimed at this. For neither was the bodily labour of that nature, that it should any wayes offend them, in so high a measure: and the defence made by our Lord in their behalfe, being that of *Dauids* eating of the *Shew-bread*, when he was an *hungred*; is more direct and literall to justify his Disciples eating, then it was their working. This abstinence of the *Jews*, that lived amongst them, the *Romans* noted; and being good Trenchermen themselves, at all times and seasons, they used to hit them in the teeth with their *Sabbaths fasting*. But herein I submit my selfe to better judgements.

(9) There was another prohibition given by God about the *Sabbath*, which being misinterpreted, is become as great a snare unto the consciences of men, as that before remembred of not kindling fire, and dressing meat upon the *Sabbath*: viz. Let no man go out of his place on the seventh day, Which prohibition, being a bridle onely unto

unto the people, to keepe them in, from seeking after *Mannah*, as before they did, upon the *Sabbath*: was afterwards extended to reſtraine them alſo, either from taking any journey, or walking forth into the fields, on the *Sabbath dayes*. Nay, ſo preciſe were ſome amongſt them, that they accounted it unlawfull to ſtirre hand or foot upon the *Sabbath*: *Ne leviter quiſpiam ſe commoveat, quod ſi fecerit, legis tranſgreſſor fit*, as Saint *Hierome* hath it. Others, more charitably, chalked them out a way, how farre they might adventure, and how farre they might not: though in this the *Doctors* were divided. Some made the *Sabbath dayes journey* to be 2000. Cubits, of whom *Origen* tells us: others reſtrained it to 2000. foot, of whom *Hierome* ſpeaks: and ſome againe enlarged it unto ſix furlongs, which is three quarters of a mile. For where *Iosephus* hath informed us, that *Mount Oliver* was ſix furlongs from *Ierusalem*; and where the Scriptures tell us, that they were diſtant about a *Sabbath dayes journey*: we may perceive by that, how much a *Sabbath dayes journey* was accounted then. But of theſe things we may have opportunity to ſpeake hereafter. In the meane time, if the *injunction* be ſo *absolute* and *generall*, as they lay it is, we may demand of theſe great *Clerks*, as their *Succeſſours* did of our Lord and Saviour; *By what authority they do theſe things*, and warrant that which is not warranted in the Text: if ſo the Text be to be expounded. Certaine I am that *ab initio non fuit ſic*, from the beginning was it neither ſo, nor ſo. The Scripture tells us, that when the people were in the *Wilderneſſe*, they found a man gathering ſticks on the *Sabbath day*. They found him, where? Not in the Camp; he was not ſo audacious as to tranſgreſſe the Law, in the open view of all the people; knowing how great a penalty was appointed for the *Sabbath-breaker*: but in ſome place farre off, wherein he might offend without feare or danger. Therefore the people were permitted

In Eſa. 58. 13.

αὐτὸν ἀποδοῦν.
Ep. 151.

AR. 1.

ted to walke forth, on the *Sabbath day*; and to walke further then 2000. foot, or 2000. Cubits: otherwiſe they had never found out this unlucky fellow. And ſo ſaith *Philo*, that they did. Πυλῶν δὲ ἐξαλθόντες πρὸς εἰς ἡμεραν ἵν' ἐν τῷ καὶ παλαιῶν καὶ ἡνυχάζοντι δὲ ξανταί, &c. Some of De vita Moſis 1. 3.
“ the people going out into the wilderneſſe, that they
“ might finde ſome quiet and retired place, in which to
“ make their prayers to God; ſaw what they looked not
“ for, that wretched and prohibited ſpectacle. So that the people were not ſtinted in their goings, on the *Sabbath day*, nor now, nor in a long time after: as by the courſe of the enſuing ſtory will at large appeare. Even in the time of *Mannah*, they did not thinke themſelves obliged not to ſtirre abroad upon the *Sabbath*, or not to travell above ſuch and ſuch a compaſſe: in caſe they did it not, out of a meere diſtruſt in God, as before they did, to gather *Mannah*; but either for their meditation, or their recreation.

(10) What ſaid I, for their recreation? what was that permitted? yes, no doubt it was. Though the Commandment did prohibite all manner of worke; yet it permitted, queſtionleſſe, ſome manner of pleasures. The *Sabbaths reſt* had otherwiſe beene more toyleſome, then the *week-dayes labour*: and none had gained more by it, then the *Oxe* and *Aſſe*. Yea this *injunction* laſt related, *Let none go out of his place on the ſeventh day*, had beene a greater bondage to that wretched people, then all the drudgeries of *Egypt*. *Toſtatus* tells us on that Text, “ *Non eſt ſimpliciter intelligendum, &c.* It is not ſo to
“ be conceived, that on that day the people might not
“ ſtirre abroad, or go out of their doores at all; but that
“ they might not go to labour, or trafficke about any
“ worldly buſineſſes. *Etenim die Sabbati ambulare poſſunt Hebraei, ad ſolaciandum, &c.* For the *Iewes*
“ lawfully might walke forth on the *Sabbath day*, to re-
“ create and reſreſh themſelves, ſo it be not in purſuite

of profit. And this he saith, on the confession of the *Jews* themselves; *ut ipsi communiter consentunt. Buxdorsius*, in his *Jewish Synagogue*, informes us farther. *Permissum est juvenibus, ut tempore Sabbati, currendo, spaciando, saltando, sese oblectent, &c.* It is, saith he, permitted, "that their young men may walke, and runne, yea and "dance also on the *Sabbath day*; and leape and jumpe, "and use other manlike Exercises: in case they do it for the honour of the *holy Sabbath*. This speakes he of the *moderne Jews*, men as tenacious of their *Sabbath*, and the rigours of it, as any of the *Ancients* were; and such as have more private flings, above the meaning of the Law, then either the *Pharisees*, or *Essces*. Of *manly Exercises* on the *Sabbath*, we shall see more anon, in the seventh Chapter. And as for *dancing*, that they used anciently to *dance* upon the *Sabbath*, is a thing unquestionable. Saint *Austine* saith, they used it, and rebukes them for it: not that they *danced* upon the *Sabbath*, but that they spent and wasted the whole day in *dancing*. There is, no question, an abuse even of lawfull pleasures. And this is that which he so often layes unto them. *Melius tota die fodarent, quam tota die saltarent*: Better the men did digge all day; then dance all day. And for the women, *Melius eorum femina lanam facerent, quam illo die [&] in neomeniis saltarent*: Better the women spinne, then waste all that day, and the *New-moones*, in *dancing*, as they use to do. I have translated it all that day, agreeable unto the Fathers words in another place; where it is said expressly in *tota die*. *Melius femina eorum die sabbati lanas facerent, quam tota [&] in neomeniis suis impudice saltarent*. "Better, saith he, the women spent the *Sabbath*, at "their wheelles in spinning; then that they revelled all "day long, both on that day and the *New-moones* in "immodest *dancings*: Where note, not *dancing simply*, but *lascivious dancing*; and dancing all day long, without

In Psal. 32.

Traß. 3. in Joh. 1.

De decemebor. dia. 6. 3.

out respect to pious and religious duties; are by him disliked. *Ignatius* also saith the same, where he exhorts the "people not to observe the *Sabbath*, in a *Jewish* fashion: walking a limited space, and setting all their "minde, *ἐν ᾧ καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν*, as they did, in *dancing*; and in capering. They used also on that day, to make *invitations*, *Feasts*, and assemblies of good neighbourhood; to foster brotherly love and concord amongst one another: a thing, even by the *Pharisees* themselves both allowed and practised. Saint *Luke* hath given an instance of it, how *Christ* went into the house of a chiefe *Pharisee*, to eat bread on the *Sabbath day*: In plainer termes the *Pharisee* invited him that day to dinner. We may assure our selves, so famous a Professor had not invited to great a Prophet; nor had our Saviour *Christ* accepted of the invitation: had they not both esteemed it a lawfull matter. It seemes it was a common practise, for friends to meete and feast together, on the *Sabbath*. *Finito cultu Dei solebant amici convenire, & inter se convivium agitare*, as *Chemnitius* notes upon the place. Lastly, they used upon this day, as to invite their Friends and Neighbours, so to make them welcome: ointing their heads with oyle, to refresh their bodies; and spending store of wine amongst them, to make glad their hearts. In which regard, whereas all other *marketting* was unlawfull on the *Sabbath dayes*; there never was restraint of selling wine: the *Jews* beleeving that therein they brake no Commandment. *Hebraei faciunt aliquid speciale in vino, viz. quod cum in Sabbato suo à ceteris venditionibus & emptionibus cessent, solum vinum vendunt; credentes se non solvere sabbatum*, as *Tostatus* hath it. How they abused this lawfull custome, of Feasting with their Friends and Neighbours, on the *Sabbath day*, into foule riot and excesse; we have seene already. So having spoken of the *weekly* and the *Annall Sabbaths*, the difference and agreement which

Ad Magnesianos.

Luke 14. 1.

Harmon. 2. 119.

In Exod. 12.

was betweene them, both in the institution, and the observation: as also of such severall observances as were annexed unto the same; what things the *Jews* accounted lawfull to be done, and what unlawfull, and how farre they declared the same, in their constant practice: it is high time that we continue on the story, ranking such speciall passages as occurre hereafter, in their place and order.

CHAP.



CHAP. VI.

Touching the observation of the SABBATH, unto the time the people were established in the *Promised Land*.

(1) *The Sabbath not kept constantly, during the time the people wandred in the Wildernesse. (2) Of him that gathered sticks, on the Sabbath day. (3) Wherein the sanctifying of the Sabbath did consist, in the time of Moses. (4) The Law not ordered by Moses to be read in the Congregation, every Sabbath day. (5) The sacke of Iericho, and the destruction of that people, was upon the Sabbath. (6) No Sabbath, after this, without Circumcision; and how that Ceremony could consist with the Sabbaths rest. (7) What moved the Iews, to preferre Circumcision before the Sabbath. (8) The standing still of the Sunne at the prayers of Iosuah, &c. could not but make some alteration about the Sabbath. (9) What was the Priests worke on the Sabbath day; and whether it might stand with the Sabbaths rest. (10) The scattering of the Levites over all the Tribes, had no relation unto the reading of the Law, on the Sabbath dayes.*

(1)



E left this people in the *Wildernes*, where the Law was given them: and whether this Commandment were there kept, or not, hath beene made a question: and that both by the *Jewish Doctors*, and by the *Christian*. Some have resolved it negatively,

Ap. Galatin. l.
11. 2. 10.

chap. 5. 25.

Probl. loc. 55.

In Exod. 12.

gatively, that it was not kept in all that time, which was forty yeares: and others, that it was at some times omitted, according to the *stations* or removes of *Israel*; or other great and weighty businesses, which might intermit it. It is affirmed by *Rabbi Solomon*, that there was onely one *Passeover* observed, whiles they continued in the *Desert*; notwithstanding that it was the principall solemnity of all the yeare. *Ersi illud fuit omissum, multo fortius alia minus principalia*. If that, saith he, then by an argument *a maiore ad minus*, much rather were the lesser *Festivals* omitted also. More punctually *Rabbi Eleazar*, who on those words of *Exodus*, *And the people rested the seventh day*, Chap. 16. 30. gives us to understand, that for the space of forty yeares, whilest they were in the *Wildernesse*, *Non fecerunt nisi duntaxat primum sabbatum*: they kept no more then that first Sabbath. According unto that of the Prophet *Amos*, *Have ye offered unto me sacrifice and offerings in the wildernesse forty yeares, O house of Israel?* On which authority, *Aretius* for the Christian Doctors doth affirme the same: *Sabbata per annos 40. non observavit in deserto populus Dei*; That for the space of forty yeares, the people in the wildernesse, did not keepe the Sabbath; *Amos* 5. 25. The argument may be yet inforced by one more particular, that *Circumcision* was omitted for all that while, and yet it had precedency of the Sabbath, both in the institution for the times before; and in the observation, for the times that followed. If therefore neither *Circumcision*, nor the daily sacrifices, nor the Feast of *Passeover*, being the principall of the *Annually Sabbaths*, were observed by them till they came to the land of *Canaan*: why may not one conclude the same of the *weekly Sabbaths*? Others conceive not so, directly; but that it was omitted at some times, and on some occasions. Omitted at some times, as when the people journeyed in the *Wildernesse* many dayes together, *Nulla requie aliquorum dierum*.

dierum habita, without rest or ceasing: and this the *Hebrew Doctors* willingly confesse, as *Tostatus* tels us. Omitted too on some occasions, as when the *spies* were sent to discover the Land, what was the strength thereof, and what the riches; in which discovery they spent forty dayes: it is not to be thought that in that time they kept the Sabbath. It was a perillous worke that they went about, not to be discontinued and layed by so often, as there were *Sabbaths* in that time. But not to stand upon conjectures, the *Iewish Doctors* say expressly, that they did not keepe it. So *Galatine* reports from their own records, that in their latter exposition on the Book of *Numbers*, upon those words, *Send men that they may search the land of Canaan*; they thus resolve it. *Nuncio precepti licitum est, &c.* A Messenger that goes upon Command, may travaile any day, at what time hee will. And why? because he is a Messenger upon command. *Nuncius autem precepti excludit Sabbatum*. The phrase is somewhat darke, but the meaning plaine: that those which went upon that errand, did not keep the Sabbath. Certain it also is, that for all that time, no nor for any part thereof, the people did not keepe the Sabbath, completely as the Law appointed. For where there were two things concurring to make up the Sabbath, first, rest from labour, and secondly, the sacrifices destinate unto the day: however they might rest some sabbaths from their daily labours; yet sacrifices they had none untill they came into the Land of *Canaan*.

(2) Now that they rested, sometimes, on the Sabbath day, and perhaps did so, generally, in those forty yeares; is manifest, by that great and memorable business, touching the man that gathered sticks upon the Sabbath. The case is briefly this: The people being in the *wildernes*. found a man gathering sticks, on the sabbath day, and brought him presently unto *Moses*. *Moses* consulted with the Lord, and it was resolved that the offender should be stoned.

Lib. 11. c. 10.

Chap. 13. 2.

Numb. 15.

Vers. 32 ad 37.

stoned to death; which was done accordingly. The Law before had ordered it, that he who so offended should be put to death; but the particular manner of his death was not knowne till now. The more remarkable is this case, because it was the onely time which we can heare of, that execution had been done upon any one, according as the Law enacted; and thereupon the Fathers have took some

De vit. Mos. l. 3.

pains, to search into the reasons of so great severity. *Philo* accuseth him of a double crime, in one whereof hee was the principall, and an Accessary onely in the other. For where it was before commanded, that there should be no fire kindled on the Sabbath day: this party did not onely labour on the day of rest; but also laboured in the gathering of such materials, *α ὅλη πύρρς ἐστὶν ὁ τῶν τεχνῶν ἀρχὴς*, which might administer fuel to prohibited fire, and consequently to those works and labours, which forbidden on

De iudicio Dei.

that day. Saint *Basil* seemes a little to bemoan the man, in that he smarted so for his first offence; not having otherwise offended either God or Man: and makes the motive of his death, neither to consist in the multitude of his sins, or the greatnesse of them, *ἐν μόνῃ δὲ ᾧ ἥμαρτησεν καὶ ἀπειθείᾳ*, but onely in his disobedience to the will of God. But we must haue a more particular motive yet then this. And first *Rupertus* tels us, *Per superbiam illud quod videbatur exiguum commisit*, That he did sinne presumptuously with an high hand against the Lord: and therefore God decreed he should die the death: God not regarding either what or how great it was, *sed qua mente fecerat*, but with what minde it was committed. But this is more, I think, then *Rupertus* knew, being no searcher of the heart.

In locum.

Rather I shall subscribe herein unto Saint *Chrysostome*. Who makes this *Quare* first, *seeing the sabbath*, as Christ saith, *was made for man*, why was hee put to death that gathered sticks upon the Sabbath? And then returns this answer to his owne demand, *ὅτι ἐν ἑαυτῷ καὶ ἐν ἀρχῇ καταργεῖσθαι*, &c. because, in case God had permitted that

Hom. 19. in

Matth. 12.

the

the Law should have been slighted in the first beginning, none would have kept it for the future. *Theodore* to that purpose also, *ne autor fieret leges transgrediendi*, lest other men encouraged by his example should have done the like: the punishment of this one man, striking a terrour unto all. No question but it made the people farre more observant of the Sabbath, then they would have beene: who were at first but backwards in the keeping of it, as is apparant by that passage in the sixteenth of *Exod. v. 27*. And therefore stood the more in need; not onely of a watch-word or *Memento*, even in the very Front of the Law it selfe; but of some sharper course to stirre up their memory. Therefore this execution was the more requisite at this instant, as well because the *Jewes* by reason of their long abode in a place of continual servile toile, could not be suddainly drawne unto contrary offices without some strong impression of terrour: as also because nothing is more needfull then with extremity to punish the first transgressours of those laws, which do require a more exact observation for the times to come. What time this Tragedy was acted, is not known for certain. By *Tornielius* it is placed in the yeare 2548 of the Worlds Creation; which was some foure yeares after the Law was given. More then this is not extant in the Scripture touching the keeping of the Sabbath, all the life of *Moses*. What was done after, wee shall see in the *Land of Promise*.

Qu. 31. in Num.

(3) In the meane time, it is most proper to this place, to take a little notice of those severall duties, wherein the sanctifying of the Sabbath did consist especially: that wee may know the better what we are to look for at the peoples hands, when wee bring them thither. Two things the Lord commanded in his holy Scripture, which concerne the Sabbath, the keeping holy of the same: one in relation to the people, the other in reference to the Priest. In reference to the people, he commanded onely rest from

la.

Numb. 28.

labour, that they should do *no manner of worke*; and thats contained expressly in the Law it selfe. In reference to the Priest, he commanded *sacrifice*, that on the *Sabbath day*, over and above the *daily sacrifice*, there should be offered to the Lord *two Lambes of a yeare old, without blemish, one in the morning, and the other in the evening*: as also to prepare first, and then place the *Shewbread*, being twelve loaves, one for every Tribe, *continually before the Lord every Sabbath day*. These severall references so divided, the Priest might do his part, without the people, and contrary the people doe their part, without the Priest. Of any *Sabbath duties*, which were to be performed betweene them; wherein the Priest and people were to joyn together; the Scriptures are directly silent. As for these severall duties, that of the Priest, the *Shew-bread*, and the *Sacrifice*, was not in practice till they came to the Land of *Canaan*: and then, though the Priest offered for the people; yet he did not, with them. So that for forty yeares together, all the life of *Moses*, the *sanctifying* of the *Sabbath* did consist onely, for ought we finde, in a *bodily rest*, a ceasing from the works of their *weekly labours*: and afterwards in that, and in the *Sacrifices* which the Priest made for them. Which as they seeme to be the greater of the two, so was there nothing at all therein, in which the people were to doe; no not so much, except some few, as to be *spectatours*: the *Sacrifices* being offered onely in the *Tabernacle* first, as in the *Temple* after, when they had a *Temple*; the people being scattered over all the Countrey, in their Townes and Villages. Of any *reading* of the *Law*, or exposition of the same unto the people; or publicke forme of prayers to be presented to the Lord, in the *Congregation*; wee finde no footstep now, nor a long time after. None in the time of *Moses*, for hee had hardly perfected the Law before his death: the booke of *Deuteronomy* being dictated by him, a very little before God took him. None in a long time

time after, no not till *Nehemiahs* dayes, as wee shall see hereafter in that place and time. The *resting* of the people was the thing commanded, in imitation of Gods *rest* when his works were finished: that as hee *rested* from the works which hee had created, so they might also *rest* in memoriall of it. But the employment of this rest to particular purposes either of *contemplation* or *devotion*, thats not declared unto us in the Word of God: but left at large, either unto the *liberty* of the people, or the *Authority* of the Church. Now what the people did, how they employed this rest of theirs, that *Philo* tels us in his third Booke of the life of *Moses*. *Moses*, saith hee, ordained, that since the World was finished on the seventh day, all of his Common-wealth following therein the course of nature should spend the seventh day, *ἐν ἡλαρίαις ἐνδομίαις*, in Festivall delights, resting therein from all their workes: yet not to spend it as some do in laughter, childish sports, or (as the *Romans* did their time of publick Feastings) in beholding the activity either of the *Iester* or common Dancers; but *ἐν τῷ ὄντι φιλοσοφεῖν*, and a little after, *ἐν τῇ ἐπισήμῃ καὶ θεωρίᾳ τῶν περὶ φύσιν*, in the studie of true Philosophy, and in the contemplation of the workes of nature. And in another place, He did command, saith he, that as in other things so in this also they should imitate the Lord their God, working six dayes, and resting on the seventh, καὶ θεωρεῖς μὴ τὴ φύσιν χαλῶσιν, and spending it in meditation of the workes of nature, as before is said. And not so only, but that upon that day they should consider of their actions in the weeke before, if happely they had offended against the Law: *ὡς πάλιν τῶν παρεσθέντων κατὸρῶσιν*, &c. that so they might correct what was done amisse, and be the better armed to offend no more. So in his Booke *de mundis opificio*, he affirms the same, that they implied that day in divine Philosophy, *ἐν βελτίωσιν ἡδυν*, even for the

De Decalog.

the bettering of their manners, and reckoning with their consciences. That thus the *Jewes* did spend the day, or some part thereof, is very probable; and wee may take it well enough upon *Philo's* word: but that they spent it thus, by the direction or command of *Moses* is not so easily proved, as it is affirmed; though for my part, I willingly durst assent unto it. For be it *Moses* so appointed, yet this concernes onely the behaviour of *particular persons*; and reflects nothing upon the *publick duties*, in the *Con-gregation*.

(4) It's true that *Philo* tels us in a Book not extant, how *Moses* also did ordaine these *publick meetings*. Τις ἐποιοῦσιν ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ταύταις ἐκδιδάσκουσιν, &c. What then did *Moses* order to be done on the *Sabbath* day? He did appoint, saith he, that we should meet all in some place together, and there set downe with modesty and a generall silence, τῶν νόμων ἀκοῦσθαι, to heare the Law, that none plead ignorance of the same. Which custome wee continue still, harkening with wonderfull silence to the Law of God, unlessse perhaps we give some joyfull acclamation at the hearing of it: some of the *Priests*, if any present, or otherwise some of the *Elders*, reading the Law, and then expounding it unto us, till the night come on. Which done, the people are dismissed, full of divine instruction, and true pietie. So he, or rather out of him, *Eusebius*. But here by *Philo's* leave, wee must pause a while. This was indeed the custome in our Saviours time, and when *Philo* lived: and he was willing, as it seemes, to fetch the pedigree thereof, as farre as possibly hee could. So *Salianus* tels him on the like occasion. *Videtur Philo Iudeorum morem in Synagogis differendi, antiquitate donare voluisse, quem a Christo & Apostolis observatum legimus*. The same reply wee make to *Josephus* also, who tels of their *Lawmaker*, that he appointed not, that they should onely heare the Law once or twice a yeare: ἀλλ' ἐκείνους ἐκδιδάσκειν τῶν ἐργῶν αὐτοῦ.

Ap Euseb. P. 1. c. par. 1. 3. 7.

Annales.

An. 546. n. 10.

“ ἀφορεύουσιν ἐν τῇ ἀρχαίᾳ τῶ νόμου, &c. but that once every week we should come together to heare the Lawes, that we might perfectly learn the same. Which thing, saith he, all other Law-makers did omit. And so did *Moses* too, by *Josephus* leave, unlessse we make a day and a yeare all one. For being now to take his farewell of that people, and having oft advised them in his exhortation, to meditate on the words that he had spoken, even when they tarried in their houses, and walked by the way, when they rose up, and when they went to bed: hee called the *Priests* unto him, and gave the Law into their hands, and into the hands of all the *Elders* of *Israel*. And hee commanded them and said, At the end of every seven yeares in the solemnity of the yeare of release, at the Feast of *Tabernacles*; when all *Israel* is come to appeare before the Lord their God, in the place that thou shalt chuse, thou shalt reade this Law before *Israel* in their hearing: that they may heare, and that they may learne and feare the Lord your God, and observe all the words of this Law to do them.

This was the thing decreed by *Moses*; and had beene needlesse, if not worle, in case hee had before provided, that they should have the Law read openly unto them every *Sabbath* day. So then, by *Moses* order, the Law was to be read publickly, every seventh yeare onely: in the yeare of release, because then servants being manumitted from their bondage, and Debtours from their Creditours, all sorts of men might heare the Law with the greater cheerfulness: and in the Feast of *Tabernacles*, because it lasted longer then the other Festivals, and so it might be read with the greater leasure, and heard with more attention: and then it was but this Law too, the booke of *Deuteronomy*. This to be done onely in the place which the Lord shall choose, to be the seat and receptacle of his holy *Tabernacle*; not in inferiour Townes, much lesse petite Villages: and yet this thought sufficient to instruct the people, in the true knowledge of Gods

Law,

Cont. Ap. 2. Deut. 6. 7.

Verse 31. 9.

Verse 10.

Verse 11.

Verse 12.

Law, and keeping of his testimonies. And indeed happy had they been, had they observed this order and decree of *Moses*; and every seventh year read the *Law* as hee appointed: they had then questionlesse escaped many of those great afflictions, which afterwards God brought upon them for contempt thereof. That in the after times, the *Law* was read unto them every *Sabbath*, in their severall *Synagogues*, is most cleere and manifest: both by the testimony of *Philo* and *Iosephus*, before related; and by sufficient evidence from the holy Gospel. But in these times, and after for a thousand yeares, there were no *Synagogues*, no publick reading of the *Law* in the Congregation, excepting every seventh year onely, and that not often: Sure I am, not so often as it should have beene. So that in reference to the people, wee have but one thing onely to regard, as yet, touching the keeping of the *Sabbath*, which is rest from labour rest from all manner of worke, as the *Law* commanded: and how farre this was kept, and how farre dispensed with, wee shall see plainly by the story. The private Meditations and Devotions of particular men, stand not upon record at all: and therefore wee must onely judge by externall actions.

Ios. 4. 19.

(5) This said and shewne, we will passe over *Iordan*, with the house of *Israel*, and trace their foot-steps in that Countrey. This happened on the tenth day of the first moneth, or the moneth of *Nisan*, forty dayes after the death of *Moses*, Anno 2584. That day they pitched their Tents in *Gilgal*. And the first thing they did, was to erect an Altar in memoriall of it: that done to circumcise the people, who all the time that they continued in the wilderness, (as many as were borne that time) were uncircumcised. The 14 of the same moneth did they keepe the *Passover*: and on the morrow after, God did cease from raining *Mannah*; the people eating of the fruits of the land of *Canaan*. And here, the first *Sabbath* which they

5. 10, 12.

they kept, as I conjecture, was the day before the siege of *Hiericho*, which *Sabbath*, probably was that very day, whereon the Lord appeared to *Iosuah*, and gave him order how he should proceed in that great businesse. The morrow after, being the first day of the weeke, they began to compass it, as the Lord commanded; the Priests some of them bearing the Arke, some going before with trumpets; and the residue of the people, some before the Trumpeters, some behind the Arke. This did they once a day, for sixe dayes together. But when the seventh day came, which was the *Sabbath*, they compassed the Towne about seven times; and the Priests blew the Trumpets, and the people shouted, and they tooke the Citie: destroying in it young and old, man, woman, and children. I said it was the *Sabbath* day, for so it is agreed on generally, both by *Iewes* and *Christians*. One of the seven dayes, be it which it will, must needs be the *Sabbath* day; and be it which it will, there had beene worke enough done on it: but the seventh day whereon they went about seven times, and destroyed it finally, was indeed the *Sabbath*. For first the *Iewes* expressly say it, that the overthrow of *Hiericho* fell upon the *Sabbath*; and that from thence did come the saying, *Qui sanctificari iussit Sabbatum, is profanari iussit Sabbatum*. So *R. Kimchi* hath resolved on the sixt of *Iosuah*. The like, *Tostatus* In Ios. 6. qu. 2. tel's us, is affirmed by *R. Solomon*, who addes that both the falling of the wall, and slaughter of that wicked people, was purposely deferred, *In honorem Sabbati*, to adde the greater lustre unto the *Sabbath*. *Galatine* proves the same out of divers *Rabbines*, this *Solomon* before remembered, and *R. Ioses* in the Booke called *Sedar Olem*; and many of them joyned together, in their *Beresith ketanna*, or lesser exposition on the booke of *Genesis*: they all agreeing upon this, *Dies Sabbati erat, cum fuit praelium in Hiericho*; and againe, *Non capta fuit Hiericho nisi in Sabbato*; That certainly both the battell and the execution

Ios. 5.

Ios. 6.

In Ios. 6. qu. 2.

L. 11. 6. 10.

Adv. Marc. 12.

Qu. 61. ex n.
Test.

In Exod. 20.

tell upon the Sabbath. So for the Christian Writers, Tertullian saith not onely in the generall, that one of those seven dayes was the Sabbath day: but makes that " day to be the Sabbath, wherein the Priests of God did " not onely worke, Sed & in ore gladii pradatum sit civitas " ab omni populo, but all the people lacked the Citie, and " put it to the sword. Nec dubium est eos opus servile o- " peratos, &c. And certainly, saith hee, they did much " servile worke that day, when they destroyed so great " a Citie by the Lords commandement. Procopius Ga- zæus doth affirme the same. Sabbato Iesum expugnavit & cepit Hiericho. Saint Austin thus, Primus Iesus nunc di- vino precepto, Sabbatum non servavit, quo facto mari Hie- richo ultro ceciderunt. So lastly, Lyra on the place, who saith, that dies septimus, in quo capta Hiericho, Sabbatum erat: all joyntly pitching upon this, that the seventh day, whereon the City was destroyed, was the Sabbath day. And yet they did not sinne, saith Lyra, because they did it on that day, by Gods owne appointment. This doth indeed excuse the parties, both from the guilt of sinne, and from the penaltie of the Law: but then it shewes withall, that this Commandement is of a different quali- ty from the other nine, and that it is no part of the law of nature. God never did command them any thing, con- trary to the law of nature; unlesse it were tentandi causa, as in the case of Abraham and Isaac. As for the spoiling of the Egyptians, that could be no thesi; considering the Egyptians owed them more, then they lent unto them, in recompence of the service they had done them in the former times.

(6) But was the Sabbath broken or neglected onely on the Lords Commandement; in some especiall case, and extraordinary occasion? I thinke none will say it. Nay, was there ever any Sabbath, which was not broken publicly, by common approbation, and of common course? Surely not one. In such a numerous Common- wealth

wealth as that of Jewrie, it is not to be thought, but that each day was fruitfull in the workes of nature: children borne every Sabbath day, as well as others; and there- fore to be circumcised, on the same day also. And so they were continually, Sabbath by Sabbath, feast by feast, not one day free in all the yeare from that Solemnitie: and this by no especiall order and command from God, but meerely to observe an ancient custome. In case it was deferr'd some time, as sometimes it was, it was not sure in conscience to observe the Sabbath; but onely on a ten- der care to preserve the Infant; which was, perchance, in- firme and weake, not able to abide the torment. No que- stion, but the Sabbath following the sacke of Hiericho, was in this kinde broken: and so were all that followed after: Nullum enim Sabbatum prateribat, quin multi in Iudæa infantes circumciderentur. It is Calvins note. There passed not any Sabbath day, saith hee, in which there were not many children circumcised, in the Land of Jewrie. Bro- ken, I say. For Circumcision, though a Sacrament, was no such easie Ministry, but that it did require much labour, and many hands to goe through with it. Buxdorsius thus describes it in his Synagoga. Tempore diei octavi man- tino, ea quæ ad circumcissionem opus sunt, tempestive pa- rantur, &c. In the morning of the eight day, all things " were made ready. And first two seats are placed, or " else one so framed, that two may set apart in it; adorned " with costly Carpets answerable unto the qualitie of " the partie. Then comes the suretie for the childe, and " placeth himsele in the same seat, and neere to him the " Circumciser. Next followeth one bringing a great " Torch in which were lighted twelve wax-candles, to " represent the twelve Tribes of Israel: after, two boyes " carrying two cups full of red-wine, to wash the Cir- cumcisers mouth, when the worke is done; another, " bearing the Circumcisers Knife; a third, a dish of sand, " whereinto the fore-skin must be cast, being once cut

In Job. 7. 21.

Lib. 1.

“ off; a fourth, a dish of Oyle wherein are linnen clouts
 “ to be applyed unto the wound: some others, spices and
 “ strong wines, to refresh those that faint, if any should.
 All this is necessarily required as preparations to the Act
 of Circumcision; nor is the Act lesse troublesome, then the
 preparations make shew of: which I would now de-
 scribe, but that I am perswaded I have said enough, to
 make it knowne how much adoe was like to be used
 about it. And though perhaps some of these ceremonies
 were not used in this present time, whereof wee speake:
 yet they grew up, and became ordinary, many of them,
 before the Jewish Commonalty was destroyed and ruina-
 ted. *ὅταν δὲ περιτομή, ἐκεῖ δὲ σίδηρον, καὶ ἀνέγγροι καὶ τὰ ἀκόλουθα.*

Hom. de Se-
 mence.

In Job l. 4. c. 50.

Job 7.

L. 1. lxxv. 30.
 331.

Hom. 49. in Job.

“ Where there is Circumcision, there must be Knives,
 “ and Sponges to receive the blood, and such other
 “ necessities. So saith the Authour of the Homily, *De*
Semente, ascribed to *Athanasius*. And not such other
 onely as concerne the worke, but such as appertain also to
 the following cure. *Circumciditur & curatur homo cir-*
cumcisionis in Sabbato, as Saint Cyril notes it. Which ar-
 gument our Saviour used in his owne defence, viz. that he
 as well might make a man every whit whole on the Sab-
 bath day; as they, one part. Now that this Act of Cir-
 cumcision was a plaine breaking of the Sabbath, (besides
 the troublesome of the worke) is affirmed by many
 of the Fathers. By *Epiphanius* expressly, *Γενομένη δὲ πε-*
ρὶ πολλὰς ἐν σαββάτῳ, ἀναίρεσις σαββάτου διὰ περιτομῆς ἐρίνεται.
 “ If a child was borne upon the Sabbath, the circumcision
 “ of that childe tooke away the Sabbath. Saint Chry-
 sostome speaks more home then hee: *τὸ μὲν δὲ σαββάτον,*
καὶ ἐλύθη πολλὰς, μᾶλλον δὲ αἰὶ λύεται ἐν τῇ περιτομῇ.
 “ The Sabbath, saith the Father, was broke many wayes
 “ among the Jews; but in no one thing more, then in Cir-
 cumcision.

(7) Now what should move the Jews to preferre Cir-
 cumcision before the Sabbath, unlesse it were because that
 cir-

Circumcision was the older ceremony; I would gladly
 learn: especially, considering the resemblance which was
 betweene them in all manner of circumstances. Was
Circumcision made to be a token of the Covenant betweene
 the Lord of heaven, and the seed of Abraham? *Genes. 17.*
11. So was the Sabbath betweene God and the house of
 Israel, *Exod. 31. 17.* Was *Circumcision* a perpetuall co-
 venant with the seed of Abraham, in their generations?
Gen. 17. 7. So was the Sabbath to be kept throughout their
 generations, for a perpetuall covenant also. *Exod. 31. 16.*
 Was *Circumcision* so exacted, that whosoever was not
 circumcised, that soule should be cut off from the peo-
 ple of God? *Genesis 17. 14.* So God hath said it of his
 Sabbath, that whosoever breakes it, or doth any man-
 ner of worke therein, that soule shall be cut off from a-
 mong the people, *Exod. 31. 14.* In all these points there
 was a just and plaine equalitie betweene them: but had
 the Sabbath beene a part of the Moral Law, it must
 have infinitely gone before *Circumcision*. What then
 should move the Jews to preferre the one before the o-
 ther: but that conceiving both alike, they thought it
 best to give precedencie to the elder; and rather break the
 Sabbath, then put off *Circumcision* to a further day. Hence
 grew it into a common maxime amongst that people,
Circumcisio pellit Sabbatum, that *Circumcision* drives
 away the Sabbath; as before I noted. Nor could it be,
 that they conceived a greater or more strict necessity to
 be in *Circumcision*, then in the Sabbath; the penaltie
 and danger, as before wee shewed you, being alike in
 both: For in the Wildernesse, by the space of forty
 yeares together, when in some sort they kept the Sab-
 bath; most certaine that they circumcised not one of
 many hundred thousands which were borne in so long
 a time. Againe, had God intended *Circumcision* to have
 beene so necessary, that there was no deferring of it
 for a day or two: hee either had not made the Sab-
 baths

baths rest, so exact, and rigid; or else out of that generall rule, had made exception in this case. And on the other side, had he intended that the *Sabbaths rest* should have been literally observed, and that *no manner of worke* should be done therein: hee had not so precisely limited *Circumcision* to the eighth day onely, *καὶ ἡ ἡμέρα τῶν οὐβ. βάρων*, yea though it fell upon the *Sabbath*; but would have respited the same till another day. The Act of *Circumcision* was not restrained unto the eighth day so precisely, but that it might be, as it was sometimes, deferred upon occasion; as in the case of *Moses* children, and the whole people in the *Wildernesse*, before remembred. Indeed it was not to be hastened, and performed before. Not out of any mystery in the number, which might adapt it for that businesse, as some *Rabbins* thought; but because children, till that time, are hardly purged of that bloud and slime, which they bring with them into the World. Vpon which ground the Lord appointed thus in the *Law Leviticall*. *When a bullocke, or a sheepe, or a goat is brought forth, it shall be seven dayes under the damme: and from the eighth day, and thence-forth, it shall be accepted for an offering to the Lord.* This makes it manifest, that the *Iewes* thought the *Sabbath* to bee no part of the *Morall Law*; and therefore gave precedencie to *Circumcision*, as the older ceremony: Not because it was of *Moses*, but of the *Fathers*, as our Saviour tells us, *Iohn 7. 22.* that is, saith *Cyril* on that place, because they thought not fit to lay aside an ancient custome of their Ancestors, for the *Sabbaths* sake. *Quia non putabant consuetudinem patrum propter honorem Sabbati contemnendam esse;* as the Father hath it. Nay, so farre did they prize the one before the other, that by this breaking of the *Sabbath*, they were perswaded verily that they kept the Law. *Moses*, saith Christ our Saviour, *gave you circumcision, and you on the Sabbath day circumcise a man, that the Law of Moses should not be broken.* It seemes that *circumcision* was much like

Iust. Martyr.
cont. Tryph.

Levit. 22. v. 27.

L. 4. in Ioh. c. 49

Iohn 7. 22.

like *Terminus*, and *Iuventus*, in the *Romane* storie; who would not stirre nor give the place, not to *Iove* himselfe. More of this point, see *Chrysost. Hom. 49. in Ioh.*

(8) But to proceed. The next great action which occurs in holy Scripture, reducible unto the businesse now in hand, is that so famous miracle of the *Sunne's standing still* at the prayers of *Iosuah*: when as the *Sunne* stood still in the midst of heaven, and hastened not to go downe about a whole day, as the Text hath it. Or as it is in *Ecclesiast. Did not the sunne go backe by his meanes, and was not one day as long as two?* The like, to take them both together in this place, was that great miracle of mercy shewed to *Hezekiah*, by bringing of the shadow ten degrees backward, by which it had gone downe in the diall of *Ahaz*. In each of these there was a signall alteration in the course of nature, and the succession of time: so notable, that it were very difficult to finde out the seventh day precisely from the worlds creation; or to proceed in that account, since the late giving of the law. So that in this respect, the *Jews* must needs be at a losse in their calculation: and though they might hereafter set apart one day in seven, for rest and meditation; yet that this day so set apart, could be precisely the seventh day from the first creation, is not so easie to be proved. The Author of the *Practice of Piety*, as zealously as he pleads for the morality of the *Sabbath*, confesseth, that in these regards the *Sabbath* could not be observed, precisely, on “ the day appointed. And to speake properly, saith he, “ as we take a day for the distinction of time, called either a day naturall consisting of 24. houres, or a day “ artificiall, consisting of twelve houres from Sunne- “ rising to Sunne-setting: And withall consider the “ Sunne standing still at noone, the space of an whole “ day in the time of *Iosuah*; and the Sunne going backe “ ten degrees (viz. five houres which is almost halfe an artificiall

Ios. 10. 13.

Ecc. 46. 4.

2. King. 20.

“artificiall day) in *Hezekiah's* time: the *Jews* themselves could not keepe their *Sabbath*, on that precise and just distinction of time, called at the first, the seventh day from the Creation. If so, if they observed it not at the punctuall time, according as the Law commanded: it followeth then, on his confession, that from the time of *Iosuah*, till the destruction of the Temple, there was no *Sabbath* kept by the *Jews* at all; because not on the day precisely, which the law appointed.

(9) This miracle, as it advantaged those of the house of *Israel*, in the present slaughter of their enemies: so could it not but infinitely astonish all the *Canaanites*; and make them faint, and flie before the conquerours. Insomuch that in the compasse of five yeares, as *Iosephus* tels us, there was not any left to make head against them. So that the victory being assured, and many of the Tribes invested in their new possessions: it pleased the Congregation of *Israel* to come together at *Shilo*, there to set up the Tabernacle of the Congregation. And they made choice thereof, as *Iosephus* saith, because it seemed to be a very convenient place, by reason of the beauty of it. Rather because it sorted best with *Iosuah's* liking, who being of the Tribe of *Ephraim*, within whose lot that City stood, was perhaps willing to conferre that honour on it. But whatsoever was the motive, here was the Tabernacle erected, and hitherto the Tribes resorted; and finally here the legall ceremonies were to take beginning: God having told them many times, these and these things ye are to do, when ye are come into the land which I shall give you, viz. *Levit. 14. and 23. Numb. 15. Deut. 12.* That *Gilgal* was the standing lampe, and that the *Levites* there laid down the Tabernacle, as in a place of strength and safety; is plaine in Scripture: but that they there erected it, or performed any legall Ministry therein, hath no such evidence. Though God had brought them

Jos. 18. 1.

Antiqu. Iud. l. 5. c. 4.

them into the Land of *Promise*, yet all this while they were unsettled. The Land was given after, when they had possession. So that the next *Sabbath* which ensued on the removall of the Tabernacle unto *Shilo*; was the first *Sabbath* which was celebrated with its Legall Ceremonies: and this was *Anno Mundi 2589*. In which if we consider as well the toylefomenesse as multiplicity of the Priest like-offices: we shall soone see, that though the people rested then, yet the Priest worked hardest. First, for the Loaves of Proposition, or the Shew-bread, however *Iosephus* tell us, that they were baked *τὴν ὥρην τῆς οὐλῆς*, the day before the Sabbath; and probably in his time it might be so: yet it is otherwise in the Scriptures. The *Kohathites*, saith the Text, were over the shew-bread, for to prepare it every Sabbath. These loaves were twelve in number, one for every Tribe, each of them two tenth deales, or halfe a peck; so the Scriptures say: every Cake square, ten hand-breadthes long, five square, and seven fingers high; so the *Rabbins* teach us. The kneading, baking, and disposing of these Cakes must require some labour. *Ὁπὸς ἀπὸ τῆς μαίης, ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, &c.* Where there is baking, saith the Author of the Homilie, de Semente, ascribed to *Athanasius*, then must be heating of the Oven, and carrying in of faggets, and whatsoever worke is necessary in the Bakers trade. Then for the sacrifices of the day, the labour of the Priest, when it was left, was double what it was on the other dayes. *Ὁ δὲ ἱερεὺς διπλαῖον ἐργον ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ποιῶν.* as *Chrysostome* hath rightly noted. The daily sacrifice was of two lambs, the supernumerary of the Sabbath was two more. If the New-moone fell on the Sabbath, as it often did, there was besides these named already, an offering of two Bullocks, a Ramme, seven Lambes: and if that New-moone were the Feast of Trumpets also, as it sometimes was, there was a further offering of seven Lambes, one Ramme, one Bullocke. And which is more, each of these had their

Antiqu. Iud. l. 3. c. 10.

1. Chron. 9.

Concis 1. de Lac. 2. 10.

their severall Meat-offerings, and Drink-offerings, Perfumes, and Frankincense, proportionable to attend upon them. By that time all was done, so many beasts kill'd, skinned, washed, quartered, and made ready for the Altar; so many fires kindled, meat and drink-offerings in a readinesse, and the sweet odours fitted for the work in hand: no question but the Priest had small cause to boast himselfe of his *sabbaths rest*; or to take joy in any thing but his larger fees, and that he had discharged his duty. In which regard, the *Jews* retaine this still amongst their traditions, *In Templo non esse Sabbatum*. That in the Temple they observed no Sabbath. As for the people, though they might all partake of the fruits hereof: yet none but those which dwelt in *Shilo*, or neare unto it at the least, could behold the sight; or note what paines the Priests tooke for them, whilest they themselves sate still and stirred not. Had the Commandment beene morall, and every part thereof of the same condition: the Priests had never done so many manners of worke, as that day they did. However, as it was, our blessed Saviour did account these works of theirs, to be a publicke' prophanation of the Sabbath day. *Reade ye not in the Law*, saith he, *how that upon the Sabbath dayes, the Priests in the Temple do prophane the Sabbath?* yet he declared withall that the Priests were blamelesse, in that they did it by direction from the God of Heaven. The Sabbath then was daily broken, but the Priest excusable. For Fathers that affirme the same, See *Iustin Martyr. dial. & qu. 27. ad Orthod. Epiphani. l. 1. har. 19. n. 5. Hierom. in Psal. 92. Athanas. de Sabb. & Circumcis. Austin. Qu. ex N. Test. 61. Isidore Pelusiot. Epl. 72. l. 1.* and divers others.

(10) These were the Offices of the Priest, on the Sabbath day; and questionlesse they were sufficient to take up the time. Of any other Sabbath duties by them performed, at this present time, there is no *Constat* in the Scriptures

Matth. 12. 5.

Scripture: no nor of any place, as yet, designed for the performance of such other duties, as some conceive to appertain unto the *Levites*. That they were scattered and disperied over all the Tribes, is indeed most true. The curse of *Jacob* now, was become a blessing to them. Forty eight Cities had they given them for their inheritance, (whereof thirteene were proper onely to the Priests:) besides their severall sorts of Tithes, and what accrewed unto them from the publicke Sacrifices, to an infinite value. Yet was not this dispersion of the Tribe of *Levi*, in reference to any Sabbath duties, that so they might the better assist the people, in the solemnities and sanctifying of that day. The Scripture tels us no such matter. The reasons manifested in the word, were these two especially. First, that they might be neare at hand to instruct the people, and teach them *all the statutes, which the Lord had spoken by the hand of Moses*: as also to let them know the difference betweene the holy and unholy, the uncleane and cleane. Many particular things there were in the Law Leviticall, touching pollutions, purifyings, and the like legall Ordinances; which were not necessary to be ordered by the Priests, above, those that attended, at the Altar, and were resorted to in most difficult cases: Therefore both for the peoples ease, and that the Priests, above, might not be troubled every day in matters of inferiour moment; the Priests and Levites were thus mingled amongst the Tribes. A second reason was, that there might be aswell some nursery to traine up the Levites, untill they were of age fit for the service of the Tabernacle; as also some retirement unto the which they might repaire, when by the Law they were dismissed from their attendance. The number of the Tribe of *Levi*, in the first generall muster of them, from a moneth old and upwards, was 22000. just: out of which number, all from 30 yeares of age to 50, being in all 8580 persons, were taken to attend the publicke Ministry.

Levit. 10. 10, 11

2. King. 4. 23.

Pitg. l. 2. c. 3.

2. Sam. 24.

Ministry. The residue with their wives and daughters, were to be severally disposed of in the Cities allotted to them: therein to rest themselves with their goods and cattell, and do those other Offices above remembered. Which Offices as they were the works of every day: so if the people came unto them upon the *Sabbaths* or *New-moones*, as they did on both, to be instructed by them in *particular cases* of the Law; no doubt but they informed them answerably unto their knowledge. But this was but occasionall onely, no constant duty. Indeed it is conceived by Master Samuel Purchas, on the authority of *Cornelius Bertram*, almost as moderne as himselfe, *That the forty eight Cities of the Levites had their fit places for Assemblies; and that thence the Synagogues had their beginnings*: which were it so, it would be no good argument, that in those places of Assemblies, the *Priests* and *Levites* publickly did expound the Law unto the people on the *Sabbath dayes*, as after in the *Synagogues*. For where those Cities were but foure in every Tribe, one with another, the people must needs travell further then six Furlongs, which was a *Sabbath dayes journey* of the largest measure, as before we noted; or else that nice restriction was not then in use. And were it that they took the paines to go up unto them, yet were not those few Cities able to containe the multitudes. When *Ioab* not long after this, did muster *Israel* at the command of *David*; he found no fewer then thirteene hundred thousand fighting men. Suppose we then, that unto every one fighting man, there were three old men, women and children, fit to heare the Law, as no doubt there were. put these together, and it will amount in all to two and fifty hundred thousand. Now out of these set by foure hundred thousand for *Ierusalem*, and the service there; and then there will remaine one hundred thousand just, which must owe suite and service every *Sabbath day*, to each severall City of the *Levites*. Too

vast

vast a number to be entertained, in any of their Cities; and much lesse in their *Synagogues*, had each house beene one. So that we may resolve for certain, that the dispersion of the *Levites* over all the *Tribes*, had no relation, hitherto, unto the reading of the Law, or any publick *Sabbath duties*.

CHAP.



CHAP. VII.

Touching the keeping of the SABBATH,
from the time of David to the
Macchabees.

(1) Particular necessities must give place to the Law of Nature. (2) That Davids flight from Saul was upon the Sabbath. (3) What David, did being King of Israel, in ordering things about the Sabbath. (4) Elijahs flight upon the Sabbath; and what else hapned on the Sabbath, in Elijahs time. (5) The limitation of a Sabbath days journey, not knowne amongst the Iewes, when Elifha lived. (6) The Lord becomes offended with the Iewish Sabbaths; and on what occasion. (7) The Sabbath entertained by the Samaritans; and their strange niceties therein. (8) Whether the Sabbaths were observed during the Captivitie. (9) The speciall care of Nehemiah to reforme the Sabbath. (10) The weekly reading of the Law on the Sabbath dayes, began by Ezra. (11) No Synagogues nor weekly reading of the Law, during the Government of the Kings. (12) The Scribes and Doctours of the Law, impose new rigours on the people, about their Sabbaths.

(1)



Hus have wee traced the Sabbath from the Mount to Silo, the space of forty five yeares or thereabouts; wherein it was observed sometimes, and sometimes broken: broken by

by publick order from the Lord himselfe; and broken by the publicke practice both of Priest and people. No precept in the *Decalogue* so controuled, and justified by the Legall Ceremonies; forced to give place to *Circumcision*, because the younger; and to the *Legall sacrifices*, though it was their *Elders*: and all this while, no blame or imputation to be laid on them, that so prophaned it. Men durst not thus have dallied with the other nine; no nor with this neither, had it beene a part of the *Law of nature*. Yet had the *Sabbath* beene laid by in such cases onely, wherein the Lord had specially declared his will and pleasure, that these and these things should be done upon it, or preferred before it; there was lesse reason of complaint. But we shall see in that which follows, that the poore *Sabbath* was enforced to yeeld up the place, even to the severall necessities and occasions of particular men: and that without injunction or Command from the Court of Heaven. This further proves the fourth Commandment, as farre as it concernes the time, one whole day of seven, to be no part nor parcell of the *Law of Nature*: for if it were the *Law of Nature*, it were not dispensable, no not in any exigent or distresse what ever. *Nullum periculum suadet, ut qua ad legem naturalem directe pertinent infringamus*. No danger (saith a moderne Writer) is to occasion us to breake those bonds, wherewith we are obliged by the *Law of Nature*. Nor is this onely *Protestant Divinitie*, for that *Præcepta decalogi omnino sint indispensabilia*, is a noted maxime of the *Schoolmen*. And yet it is not onely *Schoole Divinitie*, for the Fathers taught it. It is a principle of *S. Austins*, *Illud quod omnino non licet semper non licet; nec aliqua necessitate mitigatur, ut admissum non obstat est enim semper illicitum, quod legibus, quia criminofum est, prohibetur*. That, saith the Father, which is unlawfull in it selfe, is unlawfull alwayes; nor is there any exigent or extremity, that can so excuse it, being done,

Ryuet. in Decal.

Aquinas 1. 2.
qu. 100 art. 9.Quæst. N. Test.
61.

“ done, but that it makes a man obnoxious unto Gods
 “ displeasure. For that is alwayes to be reckoned an un-
 “ lawfull thing, which is forbidden by the Law because
 “ simply evill. So that in case this rule be true, as no
 doubt it is; and that the fourth Commandment prohi-
 biting all *manner of worke* on the *Sabbath day*, as simply
 evill, be to be reckoned part of the *Morall Law*: they
 that transgresse this Law, in what case soever, are in the
 self-same state with those, who to preserve their lives or
 fortunes, renounce their Faith in God, and worship
 Idols; which no man ought to do, no though it were to
 gaine the world. *For what will it profit a man to gaine the
 world, and to lose his soule?*

1. Sam. 20.

(2) But sure the *Jews* accounted not the *Sabbath* of
 so high a nature, as not to venture the transgressing of
 that *Law*, if occasion were. Whereof, or of the keeping
 it, we have no monument in Scripture, till we come to
David. The residue of *Iosuah*, and the Book of *Iudges*,
 give us nothing of it. Nor have we much in the whole
 story of the *Kings*: but what we have, we shall present
 unto you, in due place and order. And first for *David*,
 we reade in Scripture how he stood in feare of *Saul* his
 Master, how in the Festivall of the *New-moone*, his place
 was empty, how *Saul* became offended at it, and pub-
 lickly declared that malicious purpose, which in his
 heart he had before conceived against him. *On the next
 morning*, *Jonathan* takes his *bow and arrows*, goes forth
 a shooting, takes a boy with him to bring backe his ar-
 rows: and by a signall formerly agreed betweene them,
 gives *David* notice that his Father did seeke his life. *Da-
 vid* on this makes haste, and came to *Nob*, unto *Abime-
 lech* the Priest; and being an hungry, desires some suste-
 nance at his hands. The Priest not having ought else in
 readinesse, sets the *shew-bread* before him, which was
 not lawfull for any man to eate, but the Priest alone.
 Now if we aske the Fathers of the *Christian Church*,
 what

what day this was, on which poore *David* fled from
 the face of *Saul*, they answer that it was the *Sabbath*.
 The Author of the Homily, *de Semente*, ascribed to *A-
 thanasius*, hath resolved it so: *ὅτι ἐν σαββάτῳ ἴσως ἔλαβεν*,
 “ most likely that it was the *Sabbath*. His reason makes
 “ the matter surer, than his resolution. The *Jews*, saith
 “ he, upbraide our Saviour, that his Disciples plucked the
 “ eares of Corne on the *Sabbath day*: to satisfie which
 “ doubt, he tels them what was done by *David*, on a
Sabbath also. *διὰ τὸ ἐνκαιρῶτα ἡμνημόνους τὸ ἰσχυρὰ τὸ ἐν
 σαββάτῳ γενομένης*, as that Father hath it. *S. Hierome* tels
 us, that the day whereon he fled away from *Saul*, was
 both a *Sabbath* and *New-moone*; *Et ad sabbati solennita- In Matth. 12.*
tem accedebant neomeniarum dies. Indeed the story makes
 it plaine, it could be no other. The *shew-bread* was chan-
 ged every *Sabbath*, in the morning early: that which
 was brought in new, not to be stirred off from the Ta-
 ble, till the Week was out; the other which was taken
 away, being appropriated to the *Priests*, and to be eaten
 by them onely. Being so stale before, we may the easier
 thinke it lay not long upon their hands: and had not *Da-
 vid* come, as he did, that morning; perhaps he had not
 found the *Priest* so well provided, in the afternoon. Had
David thought that breaking of the *Sabbath*, in what
 case soever, had beene a sinne against the eternall *Law* of
Nature: he would, no doubt, have hid himselfe that day
 in the field, by the *stone Ezel*, as he had done two dayes
 before; rather then so have run away, as well from God,
 as from the King. Especially considering that on the *Sab-
 bath day* he might have lurked there, with more safetie,
 then before he did: none being permitted, as some say,
 by the Law of God, to walke abroad that day, if occa-
 sion were. Neither had *David* passed it over in so light a
 manner, had he done contrary to the *Law*. That heart
 of his which smote him for his *murder* and *adultery*,
 and for his *numbring* of the *people*; would sure have
 I taken

1. Sam. 20.
Ver. 19. 24.

taken some impression, upon the breaking of the Sabbath; had he conceived that Law to be like the rest. But David knew of no such matter: neither did Jonathan, as it seemes. For howsoever Davids fact might be excused, by reason of the imminent perill; yet surely Jonathans walking forth with his bow and arrows, was of a very different nature. Nor did he do it fearfully, and by way of stealth, as if he were afraid to avow the action: but tooke his Page with him to bring back his arrows, and called aloud unto him to do thus and thus, according as he was directed; as if it were his usuall custome. Jonathan might have thought of some other way to give advertisement unto David, of his Fathers anger: rather then by a publick breaking of the Sabbath, to provoke the Lords. But then, as may from hence be gathered, shooting and such like manlike exercises, were not accounted things unlawful on the Sabbath day.

(3) This act and flight of Davids from the face of Saul, happened in *Tornicellus* computation, Anno 2974: and forty six yeares after that, being 3020 of the Worlds Creation, and the last yeare of Davids life, he made a new division of the sonnes of Levi. For where the Levites were appointed in the times before, to beare about the Tabernacle, as occasion was: the Tabernacle now being fixed and settled in Jerusalem, there was no further use of the Levites service, in that kinde. Therefore King David thought it good, to set them to some new employments; and so he did: some of them to assist the Priests, in the publick Ministry; some to be Overseers & Judges of the people; some to be Porters also in the house of God; and finally, some others to be singers, to praise the Lord with instruments that he had made, with Harpes, with Vsols, and with Cymbals. Of these the most considerable were the first and last. The first appointed to assist at the daily sacrifices: as also at the Offering of all burnt-offerings unto the Lord, in the Sabbaths, in the moneths,

1. Chron. 23. 4, 5.
Ps. 131.

and

and at the appointed times, according to the number, and according to their custome continually before the Lord. The other were instructed in the songs of the Lord: Those chiefly which were made for the Sabbath dayes, and the other Festivals: and one he made himselfe, of his owne enditing, entituled a Song or Psalme for the Sabbath day. Calvin upon the 92 Psalme is of opinion, that he made many for that purpose, as no doubt he did; and so he did for the Feasts also. Iosephus tels us, that he composed Odes and Hymnes to the praise of God; as also that he made divers kinds of instruments, and that he taught the Levites to praise Gods Name upon them, both on the Sabbath dayes, *ἡ τῶν ᾠδῶν ἑορταίς*, and the other Festivals: as well upon the Annuall, as the weekly Sabbath. Where note, that in the distribution of the Levites into severall Offices, there was then no such Office thought of, as to be Readers of the Law: which proves sufficiently, that the Law was not yet read publicly unto the people, on the Sabbath day. Nor did he onely appoint them their songs, and Instruments: but so exact and punctuall was he, that he prescribed what habit they should weare, in the discharging of their Ministry, in singing praises to the Lord; which was a white linnen rayment, such as the surplice, now in use, in the Church of England. Also the Levites, saith the Text, which were the singers, being arrayed in white linnen, having Cymbals and Psalteries and Harps, stood at the East end of the Altar, &c. praising and thanking God, for his grace and mercies. And this he did, not by commandment from above, or any warrant but his owne, that we can heare of, and that he thought it fit, and decent. David, the Prophet of the Lord, knew well, what did belong to David the King of Israel, in ordering matters of the Church, and setting things about the Sabbath. Nor can it be but worth the notice, that the first King whom God raised up to be a nursing Father unto his Church, should

Chap. 15. 7.

Ps. 92.

Antiq. Jud. l. 7. c. 10.

1. Chron. 5. 12, 13

L 2

exercise

exercise his regall power, in dictating what he would have done on the *Sabbath day*, in reference to Gods publicke worship. As if in him, the Lord did meane to teach all others of the same condition, as no doubt he did, that it pertaines to them to vindicate the day of his publicke service, as well from superstitious fancies, as prophane contempts: and to take speciall order that his name be glorified, as well in the performances of the Priests, as the devotions of the people. This speciall care we shall finde verified in *Constantine*, the first *Christian Emperour*, of whom more hereafter in the next Booke, and third Chapter. Now what was here ordained by *David*, was afterwards confirmed by *Solomon* (whereof see 2. *Chron.* 8. 14.) who as he built a Temple for Gods publicke worship; for the *New-moones*, and *weekly Sabbaths*, and the *solemne Feasts*, as the Scripture tells us: so he, or some of his successours, built a faire seat within the Porch thereof, wherein the Kings did use to set, both on the *Sabbaths* and the *annuall Festivals*. The Scripture calls it *regmen sabbati*, *The covert for the Sabbath*; that is, saith *Rabbi Solomon*, *Locus quidam in porticu templi gratiose coopertus, in quo Rex sedebat die Sabbati, & in magnis festivitibus*, as before was said. So that in this too, both were equall; as well as in the *Psalmes*, and *Hymnes*, and publicke *laudes*, which *David* had ordained for both; without any difference.

2 King. 16:

(4) From *David* passe we to *Elijah*, from one great Prophet to another: both persecuted, and both faine to flie, and both to flie upon the Sabbath. *Elijah* had made havock of the Priests of *Baal*, and *Jezebel* sent a message to him, that he should arme himselfe to expect the like. The Prophet warned hereof, arose, and being encouraged by an *Angel*, he did eate and drinke, and walked in the strength of that meat, forty dayes and forty nights, untill he came to *Horeb* the Mount of God. What, walked he forty dayes and as many nights, without rest or ceasing?

2 King. 19. 8:

sing? So it is resolved on, *Elijah* as we reade in *Damas-* *Deside Orthod.*
cen, & *μὴν δὲ τῆς νηστείας, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τῆς ὁμιλίας ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς* 1.4.6. 24.
 “ *Casi*, &c. disquieting himselfe not onely by continu-
 “ all fasting, but by his travelling on the Sabbath, even
 “ for the space of forty dayes, *ἐλυσε τὸ σάββατον*, did with-
 “ out question breake the Sabbath: yet God who made
 “ that Law, was not at all offended with him, but rather
 “ to reward his vertue, appeared to him in Mount *Horeb*. So *Thomas Aquinas* speaking of some men, in the
 “ old Testament, *Qui transgredientes observantiam Sab-* *Aude qu. 112.*
 “ *bati, non peccabant*, Who did transgresse against the *art. 4.*
 “ Sabbath, and yet did not sinne; makes instance of *E-*
 “ *lijah*, and of his journey: wherein, saith he, it must
 “ needs be granted, that he did travell on the Sabbath.
 And where a question might be made, how possibly
Elijah, could spend forty dayes, and forty nights, in so
 small a journey: *Tostatus* makes reply, that he went not
 directly forwards, but wandred up and downe, and
 from place to place; *Ex timore & inquietudine mentis*,
 partly for feare of being found, and partly out of a dis- *In locum,*
 quieted and afflicted minde. Now whiles *Elijah* was
 in exile, *Benhadad* King of Syria invaded Israel, and in-
 camped neere *Aphek*; where *Ahab* also followed him,
 and late downe by him with his Army. And, saith the
 Text, they pitched one over against the other, seven dayes, *1. King. 20. 29.*
 and so it was that in the seventh day the battell was joyned,
 and the children of Israel slew of the Syrians an hundred
 thousand footmen in one day. Aske *Zanchinus* what this
 seventh day was; and he will tell you plainly, that it was
 the Sabbath. For shewing us that any servile works
 may be done lawfully on the Sabbath, if either cha- *In 4 Mandat.*
 rity, or unavoydable necessity do so require: he brings
 this History in, for the prooffe thereof. And then he
 addes, *Illi die ipso Sabbati, quia necessitas postulabat,*
pugnam cum hostibus commiserunt, &c. The *Israe-*
 “ *lites*, saith he, fighting against their enemies on
 L 3 the

*Levi Com. l. 7.
cl. 2.*

“ the *Sabbath day*, necessity inforcing them t hereunto,
“ prevailed against them with a great & mighty slaugh-
ter. Neither is he only one that so conceived it. For *Peter*
Martyr saith as much, and collects from hence, *Die Sab-*
“ *bati militaria munia obiisse eos*, That military matters
“ were performed by the *Jews* on the *Sabbath day*. This
field was fought, *Anno mundi* 3135: and was 11. yeares
after *Elijahs* flight.

2. King. 4.

Isa. 12.

Isa. 23.

(5) Proceed we to *Elisba* next. Of whom, though
nothing be recorded that concerns this businesse; yet on
occasion of his piety and zeale to God, there is a passage
in the Scripture, which gives light unto it. The *Shuna-*
mite having received a childe at *Elisba's* hands, and fin-
ding that it was decealed, called to her husband, and said,
Send with me I pray thee, one of the young men and one of
the asses, for I will haste to the man of God, and come a-
gain. And he said, Wherefore wilt thou go to him to
day? It is neither New-moone, nor Sabbath day. Had
it beene either of the two, it seemes she might have
gone and sought out the Prophet; and more then so, she
used to do it at those times: else what need the question?
It was their custome, as before we noted, to travell on
the *Sabbath dayes*, and the other *Festivals*, to have some
conference with the *Levites*, if occasion were; and to
repaire unto the *Prophets* at the same times also, as well
as any day what ever. *In illis diebus festiuis frequentius*
ibant ad Prophetas ad audiendum verbum Dei, as *Lyra*
hath it on the place. And this they did, without regard
unto that nicety of a *Sabbath dayes journey*; which came
not up till long time after: sure I am was not now in use.
Elisba, at this time, was retyred to *Carmel*, which from
the *Shunamites* City was ten miles at least; as is apparant
both by *Adrichomius* Map of *Issachar*, and all other Ta-
bles that I have met with. And so the limitation of 2000
foot, or 2000 Cubits, or the six Furlongs, at the most,
which some require to be allotted for the utmost travell

on

on the *Sabbath*; is vanished suddenly into nothing. Nay,
it is evident by the story, that the journey was not very
short: the woman calling to her servant to drive on, and
go forwards, and not to slacke his riding unlesse she bid
him: Which needed not, in case the journey had not
beene above six Furlongs. Neither *New-moone* nor *Sab-*
bath day? It seemes the times were both alike, in this
respect: the *Prophets* to be sought unto, and they to pub-
lish and make knowne the will of God, as well at one
time, as the other. *Quasi Sabbatum & Calenda aequalis*
essent solennitatis, as *Tostatus* hath it. If so, if the *New-*
moones, in this respect, were as solemne as the *weekly*
Sabbath: no question but the *Annua*l *Sabbaths* were
as solemne also. And not in this respect alone, but in ma-
ny others. *Markets* prohibited in the *New-moones*, as in
the *Sabbath*, *When will the New-moon bee gone, that wee*
may sell our corne? in the eighth of *Amos*: the *Sacrifices*
more in these then in the other, of which last wee have
spoke already. So when the Scriptures prophecie of those
spirituall Feasts, which should be celebrated by Gods
Saints, in the times to come: they specifie the *New-moons*
as particularly, as they do the *Sabbaths*. *From one New-*
moon to another, and from one sabbath to another, shall all
flesh come to worship before me, saith the Lord. See the like
Prophecie in *Ezech. Chap. 46. Ver. 1. 3.* Vpon which last
S. Hierome tels us, *Quod privilegium habet dies septimus*
in hebdomada, hoc habet privilegium mensis exordium:
The *New-moones* and the *Sabbath* have the like *Prero-*
gatives.

*In Num. 28.
qa. 29.*

Isa. 66. 23.

In Ezech 46.

(6) Nay, when the *Jews* began to set at naught the
Lord, and to forget that God which brought them out
of the Land of *Egypt*; when they began to loath his
Sabbaths, and prophane his *Festivals*, as they did too
often: the Lord expostulates the matter with them, as
well for one as for the other. When they were weary of
the *New-moone*, and wished it gone, that they might sell

Amos 8. 5.

L 4

corne;

corne; and of the *Sabbath*, because it went not fast enough away, that they might set forth wheat to sale: the Lord objects against them, both the one and the other, by his Prophet *Amos*; that they preferred their profit, before his pleasure. *Et Des solennitates turpis lucri gratia, in sua verterent compendia*, as Saint Hierome hath it. When on the other side they did prophane his *Sabbaths*, and the holy *Festivals* with excesse and lussetting, *Carousing wine in bowles, stretching themselves upon their couches, and oynting of themselves with the chiefe oyntments*: the Lord made knowne unto them by his servant *Isaiah*, how much he did dislike their courses. *The New-moones and Sabbaths, the calling of Assemblies I cannot away with; it is iniquity even the solemne meeting*. It seemes they had exceedingly forgot themselves, when now their very *Festivals* were become a sinne. Nay, God goes further yet, *Your New-moones and your appointed Feasts my soule hateth, they are a trouble to me, I am weary to beare them. Your New-moones, and your Feasts, saith God, are not mine. Non enim mea sunt quæ geritis*, They are no Feasts of mine, which you so abuse. How so? *Judei enim neglectis spiritualibus negotiis quæ pro anima salute agenda deus præceperat, omnia legitima Sabbati, ad otium luxuriamque contulere*. So said *Gaudentius Brixianus*. The *Jews*, saith he, neglecting those spirituall duties which God commanded on that day, abused the *Sabbaths* rest unto eate and luxury. For whereas being free from temporall cares, they ought to have employed that day to spirituall uses, and to have spent the same in modestie and temperance, *καὶ ἀφροδοτεῖς δαίων λογίων*, and in the repetition and commemoration of Gods holy Word: they on the other side did the contrary; *κασιζόντες, μεθύοντες, πρηνέες*, walling the day in gluttony, and drunkenesse, and idle delicacies. How farre *S. Augustine*, chargeth them with the self-same crimes, we have seene before. Thus did the

house

In loim.

Amos 6.

Chap. 1. 14.

Chap. 1. 14.

S. 1. 12.

Cy. ill. in
Amos 8.

house of *Israel* rebell against the Lord, and prophane his *sabbaths*. And therefore God did threaten them by the Prophet *Hosea*, that hee would cause their mirth to cease, their Feast dayes, their New-moones and *Sabbaths*, and their solemne *Festivals*: that so they might be punished in the want of that, which formerly they had abused.

Hos. 1. 11.

(7) And so indeed he did, beginning first with those of the revolted *Tribes*, whom he gave over to the hand of *Salmanassar* the *Assyrian*; by whom they were lead Captive unto parts unknowne, and never suffered to returne. Those which were planted in their places, as they desired in tract of time, to know the manner of the God of the Land: so for the better means to attaine that knowledge, they entertained the *Pentateuch*, or five Books of *Moses*; and with them, the *Sabbath*. They were beholding to the *Lions* which God sent amongst them. Other wise they had never known the *Sabbath*, nor the Lord who made it. Themselves acknowledge this in an Epistle to *Antiochus Epiphanes*, when he made havock of the *Jews*. The Epistle thus. *Βασιλεῖ Αντόχῳ Σεῶ, &c.* To King *Antiochus Epiphanes*, the mighty God, the suggestion of the *Sidonians* that dwell at *Sichem*. Our Ancestors enforced by a continuall plague which destroyed their Country (this was the *Lions* before spoken of) and induced by an ancient superstition, *ἡ δὲ ἐποίνῃσι ὁ βεῖν τὸ ἄξιον τοῖς ἱερεῦσι λεγόμενῃ σαββάτων ἡμεῶν*, took up a custome to observe that day as holy, which the *Jewes* call the *Sabbath*. So that it seemes by this Epistle, that when the *Assyrians* sent back one of the *Priests* of *Israel*, to teach this people what was the manner of the God of the Land; that at that time they did receive the *Sabbath* also: which was about the yeare of the Worlds Creation, 3315. The Priest so sent, is said to have been called *Dofthai*; and as the word is mollified in the Greeke, it is the same with *Dofthem*: who as hee taught these new *Samaritans*, the

Ioseph. Antiq. l.
12 c. 7.Orig. præl. 2. 4.
χῶν. l. 4.

ob-

observation of the Sabbath; so as some say, he mingled with the same, some neat deviles of his own. For whereas it is said in the Book of *Exodus*, *Let no man go out of his place on the Sabbath day*: this *Dositheus*, if at least this were he, keeping the letter of the Text, did affirme and teach, that in what ever posture any man was found, *ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς σαββάτου*, in the beginning of the Sabbath; in the self-same hee was to bee *μεχρὸς ἑσπέρης*, even untill the evening: as *Origen* hath told us of him. I say, if this were hee, and as some say; because there was another *Dositheus*, a Samaritan too, who lived more neere unto the time of *Origen*, and is most like to be the man. However, wee may take it for a Samaritan device, as indeed it was; though not so ancient as to take beginning with the first entertainment of the Sabbath, in that place and people.

(8) This transportation of the *ten Tribes*, for their many sins, was a fair warning unto those of the house of *Judah*, to turn unto the Lord, and amend their lives, and observe his *Sabbaths*: his *sabbata annorum*, *Sabbaths of yeares*, as well as either his *weekly*, or his *yearly Sabbaths*. The *Jews* had been regardlesse of them all, & for neglect of all, God resolved to punish them. First, for the *weekly Sabbath*, that God avenged himselfe upon them for the breach thereof, is evident by that one place of *Nehemiah*. *Did not your Fathers thus*, saith hee, *and our God brought this plague upon us, and upon our Citie? yet yee increase the wrath upon Israel, in breaking the Sabbath*. Next for the *Annually Sabbaths*, God threatned that he would deprive them of them, by his Prophet *Hosea*; as before was said. And lastly, for his *Sabbaths of yeares*, they had been long neglected and almost forgotten; if observed at all. *Tornellus* finds 3 onely kept in all the Scripture. Nor are more specified in particular, but sure more were kept: the certain number of the which may easily be found by the proportion of the punishment. God tels them that they should

should remayn in bondage, *untill the land had enjoyed her Sabbaths*: for so long as she lay desolate, shee kept Sabbath, to fulfill threescore and ten yeares. So that as many yeares as they were in bondage, so many *Sabbaths of yeares* they had neglected. Now from the yeare 2593 which was the seventh yeare after their possession of the Land of *Canaan*; unto the yeare 3450, which was the yeare of their *Captivitie*: there passed in all 857 yeares just; of which 122 were yeares *sabbaticall*. By which account it is apparant, that they had kept in all that time, but fifty two *sabbaticall yeares*: and for the *seventy Sabbaths of yeares* which they had neglected. God made himselfe amends, by laying desolate the whole Countrey, *seventy yeares together, till the earth had enjoyed her Sabbaths*. Not that the earth lay still all that while, and was never tilled; for those that did remayne behinde, and inhabit there, must have meanes to live: but that the tillage was so little, and the crop so small (the people being few in numbers) that in comparifon of former times, it might seeme to rest. But whatsoever *Sabbaths* the earth enjoyed, the people kept not much themselves. The solemne Feasts of *Pentecost*, the *Passeover*, and the Feast of *Tabernacles*, they could not celebrate at all, because they had no *Temple* to repaire unto: nor did they celebrate the *New-moones* and the *weekly Sabbath*, as they ought to doe. *Non neomenia, non sabbati exercere latitiam, nec omnes festivitates quas uno nomine comprehendit*, as Saint *Hierome* hath it. For that they used to work on the *Sabbath day*, both in the Harvest and the Vintage, during the *Captivitie*, wee have just reason to suspect, considering what great difficulty *Nehemiah* found, to redresse those errours. So little had that people profited in the Schoole of Pietie; that though they felt Gods heavy anger for the breach thereof, yet could they hardly be induced to amend their follies.

(9) But presently on their return from *Babylon*, they reared up the Altar, and kept the *Feast of Tabernacles*, and

2. Chron. 36.21

In Hof. 2.

Ezra 3 4, 5.

and the burnt offerings day by day, and afterward the continuall burnt-offering, both in the New-moons, & the solemn Feast-dayes, that had been consecrate unto the Lord. This the first work that was endeavoured by their Zorobabel, & other Rulers of the people: and it was somewhat that they went so farre in the reformation, as to receive the sabbaths, and the publick Festivals. I say the Sabbaths, amongst others; for so Iosephus doth expresse it. They celebrated at that time, saith hee, the Feast of Tabernacles, according as their Law-maker had ordained: and afterwards they offered Oblations and continuall Sacrifices, observing their Sabbaths, and all holy solemnities. By which it seemes, the sabbaths had not been observed, in time of the captivity. Nor were they now observed so truly, but that some evill customes, which had crept amongst them, during the Captivity, were as yet continued: Markets permitted on the sabbath, and the publick Festivals; Burdens brought in, and out; the Vintage no lesse followed on those dayes, than on any other. And so continued till the year 3610, which was some 90 years after they were returned from Babel: what time they celebrated that great Feast of Tabernacles; and Ezra publickly read the Law before all the people. Vpon which Act, this good ensued, that both the Priests and Princes, and many others of the people, did enter covenant with the Lord, that *If the people of the Land brought ware, or any victuals, to sell them on the Sabbath day, that we would not buy it of them on the Sabbath, or on the Holy-dayes, and that we would leave the seventh yeare free, and the exaction of every debt.* Where still observe, that they had no lesse care of the annuall sabbaths, yea, of the sabbaths of yeares, then of the weekly: and marketting not more restrained on the weekly sabbaths, then on the Annuall. A covenant not so well performed, as it was agreed. For Nehemiah who was principall on the peoples part, being gone for Babylon; at his return, found all things contrary to what he looked for. I

saw,

Neh. 10. 31.

saw, saith he, in Iudah, them that trod Wine-presses on the Sabbath, and that brought in sheafes, and which laded Asses also with Wine, Grapes, and Figs, and brought them into Hierusalem on the Sabbath day; and others, men of Tyrus, that brought fish and all manner of ware, and sold it on the Sabbath unto the children of Iudah: a most strange disorder. So generall was the crime become, that the chiefe Rulers of the people were most guilty of it. So that to rectifie this misrule, Nehemiah was not onely forced to shut up the Gates, upon the Even before the Sabbath, yea, & to keep them shut al the Sabbath day; wherby the Merchants were compelled, to rest with their commodities, without the walls: but to use threatening words unto them, that if from that time forwards, they came with Merchandise on the Sabbath, he would forbear no longer, but lay hands upon them. A course not more severe, then necessary, as the case then stood. Nor had those mischiefs been redressed, being now countenanced by custome, and some chiefe men among the people: had they not met a man, both resolved and constant; one that both knew his worke, and had a will to see it finished. This reformation of the Sabbath, or rather of those foule abuses which had of late defiled it, and even made it despicable; is placed by Torniellus, Anno 3629: which was above a 100 yeares after the restitution of this people to their Native Country. So difficult a thing it is to overcome an evill custome.

(10) Things ordered thus, and all those publick scandals being thus removed: there followed a more strict observance of the Sabbath day, then ever had been kept before. The rather since about these times, began the reading of the Law in the Congregation. Not every seventh yeare onely, and on the Feast of Tabernacles, as before it was, or should have been at the least, by the Law of Moses; but every Sabbath day, and each solemn meeting: nor onely in the Temple of Hierusalem, as it used to be; but in the Townes and principall places of each severall Tribe.

Ezra

Chap. 13. 15.

verse 16.

Ezra first set this course on foot, a *Priest* by calling, one very skillfull in the Lawes of *Moses*: who having tooke great pains to seek out the *Law*, & other Oracles of God; digested and disposed them into that forme and method, in which we have them at this present. Of this see *Iren. l. 3. 25. Tertull. de habitu mulierum, Clem. Alex. l. 1. Strom. Chrysost. hom. 8. ad Hebraeos*, and divers others. This done, and all the people met together at the Feast of *Tabernacles*, *An. 3610*, which was some ninety yeares after the return from *Babylon*, as before was said: he took that opportunity, to make knowne the *Law* unto the people. For this cause he provided a *Pulpit of wood*, that so hee might be heard the better: & round about him stood the *Priests*, and *Levites*, learned men, of purpose to expound the Text, and to give the sense thereof: that so the people might the better understand the reading. And this they did 8 dayes together, from the first day untill the last, when the Feast was ended. Now in this Act of *Ezraes*, there was nothing common, nothing according to the custome of the former times, neither in time or place, or any other circumstance. First for the time, although it was the Feast of *Tabernacles*, yet was it not the seventh yeare, as *Moses* ordered it: that yeare, which was the first of *Nehemiahs* comming unto *Hierusalem*, not being the *Sabbaticall* yeare, but the third yeare after; as *Torniellus* doth compute it. Then for the place, it should have bin performed in the Temple onely; as both by *Moses* Ordinance, and *Josiahs* practice, doth at large appeare: but now they did it in the street before the *Water-gates*, as the Text informes us. So for manner of the reading, it was not onely published, as it had bin formerly, but expounded also. Wherof, as of a thing never knowne before, this reason is laid downe by *Torniellus*, *quod lingua Hebraica defierat jam vulgaris esse, Chaldaico seu Syriaco idiomate in ejus locum surrogato*, because the *Hebrew* Tongue wherein the Scriptures were first written, was now grown strange unto the people;

the

*Nehem. 8. 4.
Vers. 4. 7.*

Vers. 8.

Neh. 8. 1. 3.

An. 36. 10. 11. 9.

“ the *Chaldee* or the *Syriack* being generally received in “ the place thereof. And last of all, for the continuance of this exercise, it held out eight dayes, all the whole time the Feast continued: whereas it was appointed by the law of *Moses*, that onely the first and last dayes of the Feast of *Tabernacles*, should be esteemed and solemnized, as holy convocations to the Lord their God, *Levit. 23. 35. & 36.* Here was a totall alteration of the ancient custome; and a faire overture to the *Priests*, who were then *Rulers* of the people, to begin a new: a faire instruction to them all, that reading of the Law of God was not confined to place, or time; but that all times, and places, were alike to his holy Word. Every seventh day as fit for so good a duty, as every seventh yeare was accounted in the former times: the Villages, and Townes, as capable of the Word of God, as was the great and glorious Temple of *Hierusalem*: and what prerogative had the Feast of *Tabernacles*, but that the Word of God might be as necessary to be heard on the other *Festivals*, as it was on that? The Law had first been given them on a *Sabbath day*, and therefore might be read unto them every *Sabbath day*. This might be pleaded in behalfe of this alteration, and that great change which followed after, in the weekly *abbaths*: wheron the Law of God was not onely read unto the people, such of them as inhabited over all *Judea*; but publickly made knowne unto them, in all the Provinces and Towns abroad, where they had either *synagogues* or habitations. God certainly had so disposed it, in his heavenly counsailes, that so his holy Word might be more generally known throughout the world; and a more easie way laid open, for the admittance and receipt of the *Messiah*, whom he meant to send: that to *Hierusalem* and the Temple, might by degrees be leined in their reputation: and men might know that neither of them was the onely place where they ought to worship. This I am sure of, that by this breaking of the custome, although an institute of *Moses*, the Law was read more frequently, then

Iohn 4. 20.

then in times of old : there being one other *reading* of it, publickly, and before the people, related in the thirteenth of *Nehemiah* ; when it was neither Feast of *Tabernacles*, nor *sabbaticall* yeare, for ought we finde in holy Scripture. Therefore most like it is that it was the *Sabbath* ; which, much about those times, began to be ennobled with the constant reading of the Word in the *Congregation* : First in *Hierusalem*, and after by degrees, in most places else, as men could fit themselves with convenient *Synagogues*, Houses selected for that purpose, to heare the Word of God, and observe the same. Of which times, and of none before, those passages of *Philo* and *Iosephus* before remembred, touching the *weekly reading* of the Law, and the behaviour of the people in the publick places of assemblies ; are to be understood and verified, as there wee noted.

Chap. 6. vii. 4.

Psal. 74. 3.

(11) For that there was no *Synagogue*, nor *weekly reading* of the Law, before these times, (besides what hath been said already) we will now make manifest. No *Synagogue* before these times, for there is neither mention of them, in all the body of the Old Testament : nor any use of them in those dayes, wherein there were no *Congregations* in particular places. And first there is no mention of them in the old Testament. For where it is supposed by some, that there were *Synagogues* in the time of *David* ; and for the prooffe thereof they produce these words, *they have burnt up all the Synagogues of God in the Land* : the supposition, and the prooffe, are alike infirme. For not to quarrell the Translation, which is directly different from the *Greek*, and vulgar *Latine*, and somewhat from the former *English* : this *Psalme*, if writ by *David*, was not composed in reference to any present misery, which befell the *Church*. There had been no such havock made thereof, in all *David's* time, as is there complained of. Therefore if *David* writ that *Psalme*, hee writ it as inspired with the spirit of prophecy : and in the spirit of pro-

prophecy, did reflect on those wretched times, wherein *Antiochus* laid waste the Church of God, and ransacked his inheritance. To those most probably must it be referred ; the miseries which are there bemoaned, not being to exactly true in any other time of trouble, as it was in this. *Magis probabilis est conjectura, ad tempus Antiochi referri has querimonias*, as *Calvin* notes it. And secondly, there was no use of them before : because no *reading* of the Law in the *Congregation* of ordinary course, and on the *Sabbath dayes*. For had the Law been read unto the people every *Sabbath day*, we either should have found some Commandement for it, or some practice of it : but we meet with neither. Rather we find strong arguments to perfwade the contrary. Wee read it of *Jehosaphat*, that in the third yeere of his reigne, he sent his Princes, Ben-hail, and Obadiah, and Zechariah, and Nathaneel, and Micajah, to teach in the Cities of *Judah*. These were the principall in Commission, and unto them he joyned nine Levites, and two Priests, to bear them company, and to assist them. It followeth, *And they taught in Iudah, and had the book of the Law of the Lord with them, and they went about throughout all the Cities of Iudah, and taught the people. And they taught in Iudah, and had the Booke of the Law with them*. This must needs be a needlesse labour, in case the people had been taught every *Sabbath day* : or that the Booke of the Law had as then been extant, (and extant must it be, if it had been read) in every Towne and Village over all *Judea*. For what need they have carried with them in that *Visitation*, a Copy of the Booke of the Law ; as the Text tels us, that they did : had it bin so, that every Towne or Village in all the Countrey, was provided of it. Therefore there was no *Synagogue*, no *reading* of the Law every *Sabbath day*, in *Jehosaphat's* time. But that which followes of *Josiah*, is more full then this. That godly Prince intended to repaire the Temple, and in pursuite of that intendment, *Hilkiah* the

In Psal. 74:

2. Chron. 17. 7.

verse 9.

2. Kings 22.

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Priest,

Verse 11.

Chap. 23. 1, 2.

Priest, to whom the ordering of the work had been committed; found hidden an olde Copy of the Law of God, which had been given unto them by the hand of Moses. This Booke is brought unto the King, and read unto him; And when the King had heard the words of the Law, he rent his clothes. And not so onely, but he gathered together all the Elders of Iudah and Hierusalem, and read in their eares all the words of the Book of the Covenant which was found in the house of the Lord. Had it beene formerly the custome, to reade the Law each Sabbath unto all the people: it is not to be thought that this good King Josiah, could possibly have been such a stranger to the Law of God: or that the finding of the Booke, had beene related for so strange an accident; when there was scarce a Town in Iudah, but was furnished with them. Or what need such a suddain calling of all the Elders, and on an extraordinary time, to heare the Law; if they had heard it every Sabbath, and that of ordinary course? Nay, so farre were they at this time, from having the Law read amongst them every weekly Sabbath, that as it seemes, it was not read amongst them in the Sabbath of yeares, as Moses had before appointed. For if it had been read unto them, once in seven yeares onely, that vertuous Prince had not so soone forgotten the contents thereof. Therefore there was no Synagogue, no weekly reading of the Law, in Josiahs dayes. And if not then, and not before, then not at all till Ezras time. The finding of the Booke of God, before remembred, is said to happen in the yeare 3412 of the Worlds Creation; not forty yeares before the people were led Captives into Babylon: in which short space the Princes being carelesse, and the times distracted, there could be nothing done that concern'd this businesse. Now from this reading of the Law in the time of Ezra, unto the Councel holden in Hierusalem, there passed 490 yeares, or thereabouts, Antiquity sufficient to give just cause to the Apostle, there to affirme,

affirme, that Moses in old time in every Citie, had them that preached him, being read in the Synagogues every Sabbath day. So that wee may conclude for certaine, that till these times wherein wee are, there was no reading of the Law unto the people, on the Sabbath dayes: and in these times, when it was taken up amongst them, it was by Ecclesiasticall Institution onely, no divine authority.

(12) But being taken up, on what ground soever, it did continue afterwards, though perhaps sometimes interrupted, untill the finall dissolution of that Church and State: and therewithall grew up a liberty of interpretation of the holy Word, which did at last divide the people into Sects and Factions. Petrus Cunnam doth affirme, that howsoever the Law was read amongst them, in the former times, either in publick, or in private; yet the bare Text was onely read, without glosse or descant. *Interpretatio magistrorum, commentatio nulla.* But in the second Temple, when there were no Prophets, then did the Scribes and Doctors begin to comment, and make their severall expositions on the holy Text: *Ex quo nata dispersiones & sententia contraria;* from whence, saith hee, sprung up debates, and doubtfull disputations. Most probable it is, that from this liberty of interpretation, sprung up diversity of judgements: from whence arose the severall Sects of Pharisees, Essces and Sadducees, who by their difference of opinions did distract the multitude, and condemne each other. Of whom, and what they taught about the Sabbath, we shall see in the next Chapter. Nor is it to be doubted, but as the reading of the Law, did make the people more observant of the Sabbath, then they were before: so that *libertas prophetandi*, which they had amongst them, occasioned many of those rigours, which were brought in after. The people had before neglected the Sabbaticall yeares, but now they carefully observed them. So carefully, that when Alexander the Great

Acts 15. 11.

De republ. l. 2. cap. 17.

being in *Ierusalem*, anno 3721, commanded them to ask some boone, wherein he might expresse his favour and love unto them: the *high Priest* answered for them all, that they desired but leave to exercise the ordinances of their fore-fathers, *ὡς τὸ ἑσθλὸν ἔτος ἀντιστοιχεῖν τῷ*, and that each *seventh yeare* might be free from tribute; because their lands lay then untilled. But then again, the liberty and variety of *interpretation*, bred no little mischief. For where in former times, according to Gods own appointment, the *Sabbath* was conceived to be a day of rest; whereon both man and beast might refresh themselves, and be the more inabled for their ordinary labours: by canvassing some Texts of Scripture, and wringing bloud from thence instead of comfort, they made the *Sabbath* such a yoke, as was insupportable. Nor were these weeds of doctrine very long in growing. Within an 100 yeares, and lesse, after *Nehemiah*, the people were so farre from working on the *Sabbath day*, (as in his time we see they did, and hardly could be weaned from so great a sinne:) but thought it utterly unlawfull to take sword in hand; yea though it were to save their liberty, and defend Religion. A folly, which their neighbour *Ptolomie*, the great King of *Egypt*, made especiall use of. For having notice of this humour, (as it was no better) he entred "the Citie on the *Sabbath day*, under pretence to offer "sacrifice; and presently without resistance surprised "thesame: the people, *ὅπου λαβὼν ἔδειξεν αὐτοῖς*, not laying hand on any weapon, or doing any thing in defence thereof; but sitting still, *ἐν ῥαθυμίᾳ καὶ ἀσθενείᾳ* in an "idle slothfulnesse, suffered themselves to be subdued by a Tyrant Conquerour. This happened *Ann. M. 3730*. And many more such fruits of so bad a doctrine, did there happen afterwards: to which now we hasten.

*Ioseph. Ant. lib.
12. 6. 1.*

CHAP.



CHAP. VIII.

What doth occurre about the *Sabbath* from the *Maccabees*, to the destruction of the *Temple*.

(1) *The Iews refuse to fight in their owne defence upon the Sabbath; and what was ordered thereupon.* (2) *The Pharisees, about these times, had made the Sabbath burdensome by their Traditions.* (3) *Ierusalem twice taken by the Romans, on the Sabbath day.* (4) *The Romans, many of them, Iudaize, and take up the Sabbath: as other Nations did by the Iews example.* (5) *Whether the strangers dwelling amongst the Iews, did observe the Sabbath.* (6) *Augustus Cæsar very gracious to the Iews, in matters that concerned their Sabbath.* (7) *What our Redeemer taught, and did, to rectifie the abuses of, and in the Sabbath.* (8) *The finall ruine of the Temple, and the Iewish ceremonies, on a Sabbath day.* (9) *The Sabbath abrogated with the other Ceremonies.* (10) *Wherein consisteth the spirituall Sabbath, mentioned in the Scriptures, and amongst the Fathers.* (11) *The idle and ridiculous niceties of the moderne Iews, in their Parasceves, and their Sabbaths conclude this first part.*

(1)



HE shewed you in the former Chapter, how strange an alteration had beene made in an hundred yeares, touching the keeping of the *Sabbath*. The people hardly at the first restrained from working, when there was no

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need;

1. Mac. 1.

Joseph. l. 12. c. 8.

need; and after easily induced to abstaine from fighting, though tending to the necessary defence both of their liberty and Religion. Of so much swifter growth is superstition, then true pietie. Nor was this onely for a fit, as easily laid aside, as taken up; but it continued a long time, yea, and was every day improved: It being judged, at last, unlawfull to defend themselves, in case they were assaulted on the *Sabbath* day. *Antiochus Epiphanes* the great King of *Syria*, intending utterly to subvert the Church and Common-wealth of *Judah*, did not alone defile the *Sanctuary*, by shedding innocent blood therein: but absolutely prohibited the burnt-offerings and the Sacrifices, commanding also that they should prophane the *Sabbaths*, and the *Festivall dayes*. So that the *Sanctuary* was laid waste, the *holy dayes* turned into mourning, and the *Sabbath* into a reproach, as the story tels us: some of the people so farre yeelding through feare and faintnesse, that they both offered unto *Idols*, and prophaned the *Sabbaths*, as the King commanded. But others, who preferr'd their piety, before their fortunes, went downe into the *wildernesse*, and there hid themselves in caves, and other secret places. Thither the enemies pursued them, and finding where they were in covert, assailed them on the *Sabbath* day: the *Jews* not making any, the least resistance, no not so much as stopping up the mouthes of the Caves, *μηδ' ἐν κακοῖς παρὰβλῦσαι πύλιν οὐδέ αὖτε πύλιν ἀελλήσαντες*, as men resolved not to offend against the honour of the *Sabbath*, in what extremity soever. These men were certainly more perswaded of the *moralitie* of the *Sabbath*, then *David* or *Elijah* in the former times: and being so perswaded, thought it not fit to flie or fight upon that day; no, though the supreme *Law* of *Nature*, which was the saving of their lives did call them to it. *Tantum religio potuit suadere malorum*, in the Poets language. But *Mattathias*, one of the *Priests*, a man that durst as much as any in the cause of *God*, and had not bin infected with those

2. Mac. 2.

Antiqu. Ind. lib.
18. c. 12.

those dangerous fancies; taught those that were about him a more saving doctrine: Assuring them, that they were bound to fight upon the *Sabbath*, if they were assaulted. For other wise, if that they scrupulously observed the *Law*, in such necessities: *ἐαυτοῖς ἔσονται πολέμοι*, they would be enemies to themselves, and finally be destroyed both they and their Religion. It was concluded thereupon, that *whosoever came to make battell with them on the Sabbath day*, they would fight against him: and afterwards it held for currant, as *Josephus* tells us, that if necessity required, they made no scruple, *αὐθιγατοῖς μάχεσθαι*, to fight against their enemies, on the *Sabbath* day. Yet by *Josephus* leave, it held not long, as hee himselfe shall tell us in another place: what time, the purpose of this resolution was perverted quite, by the nice vanities of those men, who took upon them to declare the meaning of it. But howsoever it was with those of *Iewrie*, such of their Countrymen as dwelt abroad amongst other Nations, made no such scruple of the *Sabbath*; but that they were prepared, if occasion were, as well to bid the battell, as to expect it: as may appeare by this short story, which I shall here present in brieve, leaving the Reader to *Josephus* for the whole at large. Two brethren, *Asinans*, and *Anslans*, born in *Nearda*, in the Territory of *Babylon*, began to fortifie themselves, and commit great outrages: which knowne, the Governour of *Babylon* prepares his forces to suppress them. Having drawne up his Army, hee layes in ambush neere a marish: and the next day, which was the *Sabbath*, (wherein the *Jews* did use to rest from all manner of worke) making account that without stroke stricken, they would yeeld themselves, he marched against them faire and softly, to come upon them unawares. But being discovered by the Scouts of *Asinans*, it was resolved amongst them to be farre more safe, valiantly to behave themselves in that necessity, yea, though it were a breaking of the very *Law*; then to submit themselves,

selves, and make proud the Enemy. Whereupon all of them at once marched forth, and slaughtered a great many of the enemies; the residue being constrained to save themselves by a speedy flight. The like did *Anileus*, after; being provoked by *Mithridates*, another Chief-tain of those parts. This happened much about the yeare 3957. that of the *Macchabees* before remembred. Anno 3887. or thereabouts. Happy it was these brethren lived not in *Judea*; for had they done so there, the *Scribes* and *Pharisees* would have tooke an order with them; and cast them out of the *Synagogues*, if not used them worle.

(2) For by this time, those Sects which before wee spake of, began to shew themselves, and disperse their doctrines. *Iosephus* speakes not of them till the time of *Ionathan*, who entred on the Government of the *Iewish* Nation, Anno 3894. Questionlesse they were knowne, and followed, in the former times; though probably not so much in credit, their Dictates not so much adored, as in the Ages that came after. Of those the *Pharisees* were of most authoritie, being most active in their courses, severe professors of the Law, and such as by a seeming sanctity, had gained exceedingly on the affections of the common people. The *Sadduces* were of lesse repute, (though otherwise they had their dependants) as men that questioned some of the common principles: denying the resurrection of the dead, the hope of immortality. As for the *Esses* or *Esseni*, they were a kinde of *Monkish* men, retired and private; of farre more honestie then the *Pharisees*, but of farre lesse cunning: therefore their Tendencies not so generally received, or hearkened after, as the others were. In matters of the *Sabbath*, they were strict alike: but with some difference in the points wherein their strictnesse did consist. In this the *Essee* seemes to go beyond the *Pharisee*, that they not onely did abstaine from dressing meate, and kindling fire upon the *Sabbath*:

Iosephus, de bello
l. 27.

ἀλλ' ἔσθ' ἡ ἀπόστασις τῶν μακαρινοῦσιν διαβόλων, ἔσθ' ἀποπατήν. But unto them it was unlawfull, to remove a dish, or any other vessell, out of the place, wherein they found it, yea or to go aside to ease nature. And on the other side, the *Pharisee* in the multiplicities of his *Sabbath*-speculations, went beyond the *Essee*: all which were thrust upon the people, as prescribed by God, and grounded in his holy Law; the perfect keeping of the which seemed their utmost industry. There is a dictate in the Scripture, that *No man go out of his place on the Sabbath day*. This was impossible to be kept, according to the words and letter: therefore there must be some device to expound this Text, and make the matter feasible. Hereupon *Achiba*, *Simeon*, and *Hillel*, three principall *Rabbins* of these times, found out a shift to satisfie the Text, and yet not binde the people to impossible burdens. This was to limit out the *Sabbaths journey*, allowing them 2000. foot to stirre up and downe, for the ease and comfort of the body: by which devise they thought the matter well made up, the people happily contented, and the Law observed. This was the refuge of the *Iews*, when afterwards the *Christians* pressed them, with the not keeping of this Text, *R. Achiba, Simeon, & Hillel magistri nostri tradiderunt nobis, ut bis mille pedes ambularemus in Sabbato*, as Saint *Hierome* tels us. But this being somewhat of the least, they afterwards improved it to 2000. Cubits, then to three quarters of a myle, as before we noted: and this, with this enlargement too, that in their Townes and Cities they might walke as much and as farre as they listed, though as bigge as *Nineveh*. This *Rab. Hillel* above named, lived in the yeare 3928. which was some fiftene yeares after *Ionathans* death: and therefore to be reckoned of these times in the which we are. The other two, for ought we know, were his *Cotanei*, and lived about the same times also. So for the other Text, *Thou shalt not kindle fire on the Sabbath day*,
this

Exod. 16.

ad Algasium.

ἀλλ'

this also must be literally understood : and then comparing this with that in *Exodus*, *Bake that which ye will bake to day* ; it needs must follow that no meat must be made ready on the *Sabbath*. We shewed before, that generally the people did use to fast on the *Sabbath day*, till they came from *Church*, that so they might be more attent unto the reading of the *Law* : this might suggest a plausible pretence unto the *Pharisees* of the latter times, to teach the people, that they should forbear from dressing meat, that so their *servants* also might be present, when the *Law* was read. Hence came the saying used amongst them, *Qui parat in parasceve, vescetur in sabbato* ; He that doth cooke it on the *Eve*, may eat upon the *Sabbath*. There is a Text in *Jeremy*, expressly against bearing of burdens on the *Sabbath day*. This by the *Christian* Fathers is interpreted of the burden of sinne. *Custo-*
" dit animam suam qui non portat pondera peccatorum in
" die quietis, & sabbati ; That man doth safely keep his
" soule which doth not carry the burden of his finnes
" in the day of rest, the eternall Sabbath, as S. Hierome
hath it on the place. See the same Father also on the 58.
of Isaiah ; and Basil, on the first of the same Prophet.
And certainly had Gods intent beene plaine and per-
emptory, that whosoever did beare any burden on the
Sabbath day, should never enter into the kingdome of
Heaven : our Saviour never had commanded the poore
lame man, to take up his bed upon the Sabbath. But for
the Pharisees, they have dallied with this Text, that
they have made both it, and themselves, ridiculous. For
finding it impossible, that men should carry nothing at
all about them ; to salve the matter, they devised some
" nice absurdities. A man might weare no nailed shoes
" on the Sabbath day, because the nailes would be a bur-
" then : καὶ τὸ ἐπὶ τῷ ὤμῳ φορέμενον, ὃ μὲν καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ὀνύ-
" αῶν : that which a man did carry on one shoulder one-
ly, was a burden to him ; not what he carried upon
both ;

Ch 17 v. 11.

καὶ ἀεὶ ὀνύχ. 1. 4.

" both, as *Origen* informes us of them. So where they found it in the *Law*, that *thou shalt do no manner of worke*, they would have no *worke* done, at all, no though it were to save ones life : neither to heale the wounded, or to cure the sicke, both which they did object against *Christ* our Saviour ; nor finally to take sword in hand, for the defence either of mens persons, or their Country. And though their rigour herein had beene over-ruled by *Mattathias*, and that it was concluded lawful, to fight against their enemies on the *Sabbath day* ; yet they found out a way to elude this order : teaching the people this, that they might fight that day against their enemies, if they were assaulted ; but not molest them in their preparations, for assault and batterie. This is now made the meaning of the former law, and this cost them deare. As good no *Law* at all, as so bad a Comment.

(3) For when that *Pompey* warred against them, and besieged their *Temple*, he quickly found on what foot they halted ; and did accordingly make use of the occasions, which they gave unto him. Had not the *Ordinance* of the *Countrey*, as *Josephus* tels it, commanded us to keepe the *Sabbath*, and do no labour on that day : the *Romans* never had beene able to have raised their Bulwarks. How so? *Ἀρχοντας γὰρ μάχης καὶ τύπτοντας ἀμύναντες δίδωσιν ὁ νόμος, ἀλλὰ δὲ πρῶντας τὰς πλεμίας ἐκ*
" ἐα. Because the Law permits us to defend our selves,
" in case at any time we are assailed, and urged to
" fight ; but not to set upon them or disturbe them,
" when they have other worke in hand. Which when
" the Romans found, saith he, they neither gave assault,
" or profered any skirmish on the Sabbath dayes, but
" built their Towers and Bulwarks, and planted En-
" gines thereupon : and the next day put them in use
" against the Jews. It seemes too, that they were not
well resolved on the former point, whether they might
defend themselves on the Sabbath day, though they were
assaulted.

Antiq. Iud. l.
14. c. 8.

Hist. l. 56.

Geogr. l. 161

Extr. l. 6. 108.

Em. Temp. edit.
2, 3.

L. 14. 6. 24. l. 49

assaulted. For on that day it was, that *Pompey* took the City, and enslaved the people. So *Dio* tels us touching the use the *Romans* made of that advantage: addes for the close of all, *ὅτι τὸς ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς Κεῖρας ἡμέρας, μὴ δὲν αὐτοῖς, ὅτι τὸς ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς Κεῖρας ἡμέρας, μὴ δὲν* " *αὐτοῖς, ὅτι τὸς ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς Κεῖρας ἡμέρας, μὴ δὲν* " the *Saturday*, not doing any thing in their owne defence. *Strabo* therein concures with *Dio*, in making *Saturday* the day; but takes it for a tolemne fast, *ἐν τῇ τῇ ὑστερίᾳ ἡμέρᾳ*, wherein it is not lawfull to do any worke. And so it was a fast indeed, but such a Fast as fell that time upon the *Sabbath*. *Iosephus* tels us onely that the Temple was taken in the third moneth, on a fasting day: which *Casaubon* conceives to be the seventh, and *Scaliger* the seventeenth of the moneth called *Tamuz*; but both agree upon it, that it was the *Sabbath*. As for their fasting on that day, it was permitted in this case, and in this case onely, when as their City was besieged; as before we shewed. Yet could not this unfortunate rigour be any warning to the *Jews*, but needs they must offend againe in the selfe-same kinde. For just upon the same day seven and twenty yeares, the City was againe brought under by *Sosius* and *Herod*, who had then besieged it: in the same moneth, and on the same day, as *Iosephus* tels it; *ἐν τῇ τῇ Κεῖρας ἡμέρᾳ ἀπομαρτυρήσῃ*, and on the day called *Saturday*, as *Dion* hath it. So fatall was it to the *Jews*, to perish in the folly of their superstitions. The first of these two actions, is placed in *Anno 3991*. therefore the last, being just 27 yeares after, must be 4018 of the Worlds Creation, *Augustus Caesar* being then in the *Trinuvirate*.

(4) By meanes of these two victories, the *Jews* being tributary to the *Romans*, began to finde admittance into their Dominions; in many places of the which they began to plant, and filled at last whole Townships with their numerous Families. Scarce any City of good note in *Syria*, and the lesser *Asia*, wherein the *Jews* were not

not considerable for their numbers; and in the which, they had not *Synagogues* for their devotions. So that the manner of their lives, and formes of their Religion, being once observed: the *Romane* people, many of them, became affected to the rites of the *Jewish* worship, and amongst other Ceremonies, to the *Sabbath* also. It was the custome of the *Romans* to incorporate all Religions into their own; and worship those Gods whom before they conquered: *Et quos post cladem triumphatos colere ceperunt*, in *Minutius* words. Therefore the marvell is the lesse, that they were fond of something in the *Jews* Religion; though of all others they most hated that, as most repugnant to their owne. Yet many of them, out of wantonnesse, and a love to novelties, began to stand upon the *Sabbath*; some would be also circumcised; & abstaine from swines flesh; others use Candlesticks and Tapers, as they saw the *Jews*. The *Satyrist* thus scoffes them for it.

*Quidam sortiti metuentem Sabbata patrem,
Nil prater nubes & cœli numen adorant,
Nec distare putant humana carne suillam,
Qua pater abstinnit: mox & preputia ponunt.*

Some following him, the *Sabbaths* who devised,
Onely the Clouds and Skie, for Gods adore;
Hating Swines flesh, as they did mans before,
Cause he forbare it; and are circumcised.

Remember *Persius* taunteth them with their *Sabbata recutita*, as before we noted. Now as the Poet did upbraid them with *Circumcision*, and forbearing Swines flesh: so *Seneca* derides them for the *Sabbaths*, and their burning Tapers on the same, as a thing unnecessary; neither the Gods being destitute of light, nor mortall men in love with smoke. *Accendere aliquam lucernam Sabbathis*

Juvenal. Sat. 14

Epist. 95.

batis precipiamus, quoniam nec lumine dii egent, & ne homines quidem delectantur fuligine. Nay, some of them bewaile the same, and wish their Empire never had extended so farre as *Iewrie*; that so the *Romans* might not have beene acquainted, with these superstitions of their *Sabbaths*. For thus, *Rutilius Claudius*, having before upbraided them for their *Circumcision*, and other ceremonies; doth thus deride them for their *Sabbaths*.

Juvenar. l. i.

*Radix stultitiæ, cui frigida Sabbata cordi,
Sed cor frigidius religione sua.
Septima quæque dies turpi damnata veterno,
Tanquam lassati mollis imago Dei.
Cætera mendacis deliramenta Catasta,
Nec pueros omnes credere posse reor.
Atq; utinam nunquam Iudæa subacta fuisset
Pompeii bellis, imperioque Titi.
Latius excisa gentis contagia serpunt,
Victoresque suos natio victa premit.*

Vaine men, by whom their sluggish *Sabbaths* are
So priz'd, yet have an heart more sluggish farre:
Who each seventh day to their old sloth devore;
Of their tir'd God, a true, but lazie note.
Other the dotages of that lying Sect,
Me thinks no childe should credit, or respect.
O would *Iudæa* never had beene wonne
By *Pompeys* armies, or *Vespasians* sonne!
Their superstition spreads it selfe so farre,
That they give Laws vnto the Conquerer.

Nor were the *Sabbaths* entertain'd onely in *Rome* it selfe. Some, in almost all places of their Empire, were that way enclined; as *Seneca* most rightly noted. *Eo nſque ſccleratiffima gentis conſuetudo invaluit, ut per omnes jam terras recepta fit, & victi victoribus leges dederunt.*

So

“ So farre, saith he, the custome of that wretched people
“ hath prevailed amongst us, that it is now received
“ over all the world; and the conquered seeme to pre-
“ scribe laws unto the victors. Saint *Augustine* so re-
ports him in his sixth Book *De Civitate*. And this is that, *Cap. 11.*
which *Philo* meanes when as he calls the Sabbath *ἑορτὴν* *De mundi. opif.*
πάνδημον, the generall Festivall of all people: when he
sets up this challenge against all the World, *τίς γὰρ ἐκείνων* *De vita Mos.*
ἢ ἰσχυρὸν ἐβδμήμην ἐκ ἐκτετήρηκας; &c. What man is there in
l. 2.
“ all the World, who doth not reverence this our holy
“ Sabbath, which bringeth rest and ease to all sorts of
“ Men, Masters, and servants, bond and free, yea, to the
“ very bruit beasts also? Not that they knew the Sab-
bath by the light of nature, or had observed the same in
all ages past; but that they had admitted it in *Philo's* time,
as a *Jewish* ceremony. For let *Iosephus* be the Comment
upon *Philo's* Text, and he will thus unfold his meaning.
“ The Laws, saith he, established amongst us, have beene
“ imitated of all other Nations: *ἡ μὲν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ Ἰουδαίων ἥθη* *L. 2. cont. Apion.*
“ *πολὺς ὤμαρ γέγονεν ἐν μακρῇ ἢ ἡμετέρας εὐσεβείας.* Yea, and
“ the common people did long since imitate our piety.
“ Neither is there any Nation *Greece* or *Barbarous*, to
“ which our use of resting on the seventh day, hath not
“ spread it selfe: who also keep not *Fasting dayes*, and
“ Lamps with lights; and many of those Ordinances
“ about meats and drinks, which are enjoyn'd us by the
Law. So farre *Iosephus*. By which it is most cleare and
manifest, that if the *Gentiles*, in these times, took up the
fashion of keeping every seventh day sacred; it was in
imitation onely, and not as taught by the law, or light of
nature. For were it otherwise, their keeping *fasting dayes*,
and lamps with lights, and other things before remem-
bred, must have beene planted in them, by nature also.

(5) These *Romans*, and what other Nations they
were soever, which did thus *Iudaize* about the Sabbath;
were many of them *Profelytes*, of the *Jews*: such as had
beene

1os. Antiq. l. 11.
c. ult.

In Exod. 10.
94. 14.

beene admitted into that Religion: for it appeares, that they did also worship the God of Heaven, and were *circumcised*, and abstained from *swines flesh*. Otherwise we may well beleeeve, that of their own accord they had not bound themselves so generally to observe the *Sabbath*, being no parts nor members of the *Iewish* state: considering that such *strangers* as lived amongst them, not being *circumcised* nor within the Covenant, were not obliged so to do. To *status* relus of two sorts of *strangers* amongst the *Jews*. The first, *Qui adveniebat de Gentilitate, & convertebatur ad Iudaismum, &c.* Who being originally of the *Gentiles*, had beene converted to the religion of the *Jews*, and were *circumcised*, and lived amongst them: and such were bound, saith he, to observe the *Sabbath*, & *omnes observantias legis*, and all other rites of the Law of *Moses*. This is evident by that in the 12. of *Exod.* where it is said, that every man-servant bought with money, when he was *circumcised* should eat the *Passover*: but that the *forreiner* and hired servant (conceive it not being *circumcised*) might not eat thereof. The other sort of *strangers*, were such as lived amongst them onely for a certaine time, to trade and traffique: or upon any other businesse, of what sort soever. And they, saith he, were not obliged by the Commandment to keepe the *Sabbath*, *Quia non poterant cogi ad aliquam observantiam legalem, nisi vellent accipere circumcissionem*: Because they could not be constrained to any legal ordinance, except they would be *circumcised*, which was the doore unto the rest. Finally, he resolves it thus, that by the *stranger within their gates*, which by the Law were bound to observe the *Sabbath*; were only meant such *strangers*, *De Gentilitate ad Iudaismum conversi*, which had renounced their *Gentilisme*, and embraced the Religion of the *Jews*. And he resolved it so, no doubt, according to the practice of the *Jews*, amongst whom he lived; and to the doctrine of the *Rabbins*, amongst

mongst whose writings he was very conversant. *Lyra*, himself a *Jew*, and therefore one who knew their customs as well as any, doth affirme as much; and tels us that the *stranger*, in the Law intended, *Gentilis est conversus ad ritum Judeorum*, is such a *stranger* as had been converted to the *Iewish Church*. And this may yet appeare, in part, by the present practice of that people, who though themselves milke not their kine, on the *Sabbath day*, *Permissum est iis ut die Sabbatino dicant Christiano, &c.* Yet they may give a *Christian* leave to performe that office; and then to buy the milk of him for a toy, or trifle. Adde here what formerly we noted of their *servants*. Of whom we told you out of *Rabbi Maimony*, that if they were not *circumcised*, or baptizd, they were as *sojourning strangers*; and might do work for themselves openly on the *Sabbath*, as any of the *Israelites* might on a working day. By which it seemes, that *strangers*, yea, and *servants* too, in case they were not *circumcised*, or otherwise initiated into their Churches, were not obliged to keepe the *Sabbath*. And here it is to be observed out of *Rabbi Maimony*, that servants not being *circumcised*, might lawfully worke on the *Sabbath* for themselves, though not for their Masters: which plainly shews, that the Commandment of keeping holy the seventh day, in the opinion of the *Rabbins*, was given unto the Masters principally; and not unto the *servants*, but by way of *Accessory*. So then, it seemes, that by the *Jews* themselves, the keeping of the *Sabbath*, was not taken for a *morall Law*; or supposed to concerne any but themselves, and those of their religion onely. For had they took it for a part of the Law of *Nature*, as universally to be observed as any other; they had not suffered it to be broke amongst them, before their faces, and that without controll or censure: no more, then they would have permitted a *sojourning stranger*, to blaspheme their God, or publickly to set up *Idolatry*, or without punishment

Buxdorf. syna-
gog. c. 11.

Ch. 3. n. 1.

to *steale* their goods, or *destroy* their persons. The rather since their *Sabbath* had prevailed so farre, as to be taken up with other parts of their religion, in many principall Cities of the *Roman Empire*: or otherwise, by way of imitation, so much in use among the *Gentiles*. And this I have the rather noted, in this place and time, because that in these times, the Countrey of the *Jews* was most reformed to by all sorts of *strangers*; and they themselves in favour with the *Roman Emperours*.

(5) Indeed these customes of the *Jews*, did flie about the *Roman Empire*, with a swifter wing, by reason of that countenance which great *Augustus Caesar* did shew both to the men, and unto their *Sabbath*. First, for the men, he did not onely suffer them, to enjoy the liberty of conscience, in their owne Countrey; and there to have their *Synagogues* and publick places of assembly, as before they had: but he permitted them to inhabit a great part of *Rome*, and there to live according to their countrey laws. *Ἡ πόλις ἐν καὶ ἀγορεύουσιν ἔχοντες, καὶ συνιόντες εἰς αὐτὴν, καὶ* " *ἡδύναται ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς ἐκδόμας*, and yet, saith he, he knew " that they had their *Proscenchas*, or *Oratories*; that they " assembled in the same, especially on the holy *Sabbath*; " and finally, that there they were instructed in their owne Religion. Then for the *Sabbath*, the *Jews* had anciently beene accustomed, not to appeare in judgement either upon the *Sabbath day*, or the *Eve* before. *Augustus* doth confirme this priviledge, bestows upon their *Synagogues*, the prerogative of Sanctuary, enables them to live according to the Laws of their own Countrey; and finally threatneth severe punishment on those, which should presume to do any thing against his Edict. The tenour of which Edict is as followeth. *Cesar Augustus Pont. Max. Trib. Plob. ita censet. Quoniam Iudeorum gens semper fida & grata fuit populo Rom. &c. placet mihi de communi Senatus sententia, eos propriis uti legibus & ritibus, quibus utebantur tempore Hyrcani* Pontif-

*Philo: leg. ad
Caium.*

*Jos Antiq. l. 16.
6. 10.*

Pontificis Dei maximi, & eorum fanis jus Asyli manere, &c. neque cogi ad prestanda vadimonia Sabbatis, aut pridie Sabbatorum, post horam nonam in Parasceve, &c. Quod si quis contra decretum ausus fuerit, gravi poena mulletabitur. In English thus. " Forasmuch as the Nation of the *Jews* hath beene alwayes faithfull to the " *Romans*, &c. I have ordained with the consent of the " *Senate*, that they shall live according to their owne " rites and laws, which they observed in the time of " *Hyrcanus* Priest of the most high God: and that their " Temple shall retaine the right of a Sanctuary, &c. " And that they shall not be compelled to appeare before any Iudge on their *Sabbath dayes*, or on the day " before in the afternoone; if any shall presume to do " contrary to our Decree, he shall be punished with a grievous punishment. This Edict was set forth Anno 4045. and after, many of that kinde, were published in severall Provinces, by *Mark Agrippa*, Provost Generall under *Cesar*: as also by *Norbannus Flaccus*, and *Iulius Antonius*, Proconsuls at that time; whereof see *Iosephus*. Nay, when the *Jews* were growne so strict, that it was thought unlawfull either to give, or take an almes on the *Sabbath day*; *Augustus*, for his part, was willing not to break them of it; yet so to order and dispose his bounties, that they might be no loosers by so fond a strictnes. For whereas he did use to distribute, monethly, a certain donative, either in money, or in corne: this distribution sometimes happened on the *Sabbath dayes*, *ὅτε ἔτε λαμ-* " *βάνειν, ἔτε δίδδουαι*, as *Philo* hath it, whereon the *Jews* " might neither give nor take, neither indeed do any " thing that did tend to sustenance. Therefore, saith he, it was provided, that their proportion should be given them *εἰς τὴν ὑστερίαν*. on the next day after, that so they might be made partakers of the publicke benefit. Not give nor take an Almes on the *Sabbath day*? Their superstition sure was now very vehement, seeing it would not suffer

*Phil legat. ad
Caium.*

suffer men to do the works of mercy, on the day of mercie. And therefore it was more then time, they should be sent to schoole againe, to learne this lesson; *I will have mercy and not sacrifice.*

Chap. 13. 15.

(6) And so indeed they were, sent unto Schoole to him, who in himself was both the teacher and the truth. For at this time our Saviour came into the world. And had there beene no other businesse for him to do: this onely might have seemed to require his presence; *viz.* to rectifie those dangerous errors, which had beene spread abroad, in these latter times, about the *Sabbath*. The service of the *Sabbath*, in the congregation, he found full enough. The custome was, to reade a Section of the law, out of the *Pentateuch* or five Books of *Moses*; and after, to illustrate, or confirme the same, out of some parallel place amongst the *Prophets*. That ended, if occasion were, and that the *Rulers of the Synagogue* did consent unto it; there was a word of *exhortation* made unto the people, conducing to obedience, and the works of piety. So farre it is apparant by that passage in the *Acts* of the *Apostles*; touching *S. Paul*, and *Barnabas*: that being at *Antioch* in *Pisidia*, on the *Sabbath day*, after the reading of the *Law* and *Prophets*, the *Rulers of the Synagogue* sent unto them, saying, *Ye men and brethren, if ye have any word of exhortation to speake unto the people, dicite, say on.* As for the *Law* (I note this onely by the way) they had divided it into 54. Sections, which they read over in the two and fiftie *Sabbaths*: joyning two of the shortest, twice, together, that so it might be all read over within the yeare; beginning on the *Sabbath*, which next followed the feast of *Tabernacles*, ending on that which came before it. So farre our Saviour found no fault, but rather countenanced & confirmed the custome, by his gracious presence, and example. But in these rigid vanities, and absurd traditions, by which the *Scribes* and *Pharisees* had abused the *Sabbath*, and made it of an ease to become a drudgery:

drudgerie: in those he thought it requisite to detect their follies, and ease the people of that bondage; which they, in their proud humours, had imposed upon them. The *Pharisees* had taught, that it was unlawfull on the *Sabbath day*, either to heale the impotent, or relieve the sick, or feed the hungrie: but he confutes them in them all, both by his *Acts*, and by his *disputations*. Whatever he maintain'd by argument, he made good by practise. Did they accuse his followers, of gathering corne upon the *Sabbath*, being then an hungred? he lets them know what *David* did, in the same extremitie. Their eating, or their gathering on the *Sabbath day*, take you which you will, was not more blameable, nay not so blameable by the law; as *David's* eating of the *shewbread*: which plainly was not to be eate by any, but the *Priest* alone. The cures he did upon the *Sabbath*, what were they more, then what themselves did daily do, in laying salves unto those Infants, whom on the *Sabbath day* they had circumcised? His bidding of the impotent man to take up his bed, & get him gone, which seemed so odious in their eyes; was it so great a toyle, as to walke round the walls of *Jericho*, and beare the Arke upon their shoulders? or any greater burden to their idle backs, then to lift up the *oxe*, and set him free out of that dangerous ditch, into the which the hasty beast might fall aswel upon the *Sabbath*, as the other daies? Should men take care of *oxen*, and not God of man? Not so. The *Sabbath* was not made for a lazie idoll, which all the Nations of the world should fall down, and worship: but for the ease and comfort of the labouring man, that he might have some time to refresh his spirits, *Sabbatum propter hominem factum est*, the *Sabbath*, saith our Saviour, was made for man; man was not made to serve the *Sabbath*. Nor had God so irrevocable spoke the word, touching the sanctifying of the *Sabbath*, that he had left himselfe no power to repeale that Law; in case he saw the purpose of the Law perverted: the

In Mandat. 4.

Sonne of man, even he that was the *Sonne* both of God and Man, being *Lord* also of the *Sabbath*. Nay it is rightly marked by some, that Christ our Saviour did more works of charity on the *Sabbath day*, then on al other daies else. *Zanchius* observes it out of *Irenaus*, *Sapius multo Christum in die Sabbati præstitisse opera charitatis, quam in aliis diebus*; and his note is good. Not that there was some urgent and extreme necessitie; either the *Cures* to be performed that day, or the man to perish. For if we look into the story of our Saviours actions, we finde no such matter. It's true, that the *Centurions Sonne*, and *Peters mother in law*, were even sick to death: and there might be some reason in it, why he should haste unto their *Cures*, on the *Sabbath day*. But on the other side, the man that had the withered hand, *Matth. 13.* and the woman with her flux of blood 18. yeares together, *Luk. 13.* he that was troubled with the dropsie, *Luk. 14.* and the poore wretch which was afflicted with the palsie, *Joh. 5.* in none of these was found any such necessity, but that the cure might have beene respited to another day. What then? Shall it be thought our Saviour came to *destroy the Law*? No, God forbid. Himselfe hath told us, that he came to *fulfill* it rather. He came to let them understand the right meaning of it; that for the residue of time wherein it was to be in force, they might no longer be misled by the *Scribes* and *Pharisees*, and such blinde guides as did abuse them. Thus have I briefly summed together, what I finde scattered in the writings of the ancient Fathers: which who desires to finde at large, may look into *Irenaus*, li. 4. ca. 19. & 20. *Origen*, in *Num. hom. 23.* *Tertull.* li. 4. *contr. Marcion.* *Athanas.* *hom. de Semente*, p. 1061. & 1072. *edit. gr. lat. Victor Antioch. cap. 3. in Marcum.* *Chrysost.* *hom. 39. in Matth. 12.* *Epiphani.* li. 1. *heres. 30. n. 32.* *Hierom.* in *Matth. 12.* *Ambros.* in *cap. 3. Luk. li. 3.* *Augustin.* *cont. Faustum*, li. 16. ca. 28. & li. 19. ca. 9. to descend no lower. With one of

of which last, Fathers layings, we conclude this list, *Non ergo Dominus rescindit Scripturam, Ver. Test. sed cogit intelligi.* Our Saviours purpose, saith the Father, was not "to take away the Law, but to expound it.

(7) Not then to take away the Law; it was to last a little longer. He had not yet pronounced, *Consummatum est*, that the Law was abrogated. Nor might it seeme so proper for him, to take away one *Sabbath* from us, which was *rest* from labour; untill hee had provided us of another, which was *rest* from sinne. And to provide us such a *Sabbath* was to cost him dearer, then words and arguments. He healed us by his Word before. Now he must heale us by his stripes, or else no entrance into his *rest*, the *eternall Sabbath*. Besides the *Temple* stood as yet, and whilest that stood, or was in hope to be rebuilt, there was no end to be expected of the legall Ceremonies. The *Sabbath*, and the *Temple* did both end together; and which is more remarkable, on a *Sabbath day*. The *Jewes* were still sicke of their old disease, and would not stirre a foot on the *Sabbath day*, beyond their compasse: no, though it were to save their *Temple*, and in that their *Sabbath*, or whatsoever else was most deare unto them. Nay, they were more superstitious now, then they were before. For whereas in the former times, it had beene thought unlawfull, to take armes and make warre on the *Sabbath day*; unlesse they were assaulted and their lives in danger: now, το μεν ειρηνης συνιθεται αιθαιστον, it was pronounced unlawfull even to treat of peace. A fine contradiction. *Agrippa* laid this home unto them, when first they entertain'd a rebellious purpose against the *Romans*, ημεντες το των εβραιων εθνη, &c. If you observe the custome "of the *Sabbaths*, and in them do nothing, it will be no "hard matter to bring you under: for so your Ancestors "found in their warres with *Pompey*, who ever deferred his works untill that day, wherein his enemies were idle and made no resistance. Παρκαλυπτες δε εν τω

Contr. Adimant.
cap. 2.

Joseph. de bello
li. 4. ca. 4.

Id. li. 2. ca. 16.

πολλὰ τὸν πάρεσθαι νόμους, &c. If on the other side, you
 “ take armies that day, then you transgress your Country
 “ Laws, your selves; and so I see no cause why you should
 rebell. Where note, Agrippa calls the Sabbath, a custom,
 and their Country Law; which makes it evident that
 they thought it not any Law of Nature. Now what A-
 grippa said, did in fine fall out: the Citie being taken on
 the Sabbath day, as Jos. Scaliger computes it; or the Pa-
 rasceve of the Sabbath, as Rab. Ioses hath determined.
 Most likely that it was on the Sabbath day, it selfe. For
 Dion speaking of this warre, and of this taking of the
 Citie, concludes it thus. ἔτι μὲν τὸ ἱεροσόλυμα ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ
 Κεράτῃ ἡμέρᾳ, ἣν μάλιστα ἐπὶ τοῦ ἱεροσολύμοι σέβουσιν, ἐξώλετο.
 “ Hierusalem, saith he, was taken on the Saturday, which
 “ the Jews most reverence til this day. Thus fell the Tem-
 ple of the Jews, and with it all the Ceremonies of the Law
 of Moses. Since when, according as Eusebius tells us,
 “ πᾶσιν Ἑβραίων ἐ δέματον, &c. It is not lawfull for that
 “ people, either to sacrifice according to the Law, or to
 “ build a Temple, or erect an Altar, to consecrate their
 “ Priests, or anoint their Kings, ἢτε τις καὶ Μωσῆα παρηγύρει
 “ καὶ ἑορτῆς ἐκτελεῖν, or finally, to hold their solemn as-
 “ semblies, or any of their Festivals, ordained by Moses.
 (8) For that the Sabbath was to end with other legall
 Ceremonies, is by this apparant, first, that it was an insti-
 tute of Moses; and secondly, an institute peculiar to the
 Jewish Nation; both which we have already proved: and
 therefore was to end with the Law of Moses, and the
 state of Iewrie. Fathers there be good store, which affirme
 as much: some of the which shall be produced to expresse
 themselves, that we may see what they conceived of the
 abrogation of the Sabbath. And first for Justin Martyr,
 it is his chiefe scope and purpose in his conference with
 Trypho, to make it manifest and unquestionable; that as
 there was no use of Circumcision, before Abrahams time,
 nor of the Sabbath untill Moses, ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἦν ὁμοίως ἐστὶ γένει, so
 nei-

Lib. 66.

Demonst. l. 1. c. 6

Dial. cum Try-
pho,

neither is there any use of them, at this present time: that
 as it took beginning then, so it was now to have an end.
 Tertullian in his argument against the Marcionites, draws
 out this conclusion. Ad tempus & presentis causa necessi-
 tatem convalescente, non ad perpetui temporis observationem;
 “ That God ordained the Sabbath, upon speciall reasons,
 “ and as the times did then require; not that it should
 “ continue alwayes. Saint Athanasius thus discourseth:
 “ When God, saith he, had finished the first Creation,
 “ he did betake himsele to rest, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὸ σάββατον ἐν
 “ τῇ οὐρᾷ τῇ ἐξοδῷ, &c. and therefore those of that
 “ creation, did celebrate their Sabbath on the seventh
 “ day. But the accomplishment of the new creature
 “ hath no end at all, and therefore God still worketh,
 “ as the Gospel teacheth. Hence is it, that we keepe no
 “ Sabbath, as the ancients did, expecting an eternall Sab-
 “ bath, which shall have no end. That of S. Ambrose, Sy-
 nagoga diem observat, Ecclesia immortalitatem, comes
 most neare to this. But hee that speaks most fully to this
 point, is the great S. Austin; and what he saith, shall be
 delivered under three severall heads. First, that the Sabbath
 is quite abrogated; Tempore gratie revelata, observatio illa
 Sabbati, qua unius diei vacatione figurabatur, ablata
 est ab observatione fidelium: The keeping of the Sabbath,
 is taken utterly away, in this time of Grace. De Gen.
 ad lit. l. 4. c. 13. See the like, ad Bonifac. l. 3. Tom. 7.
 contra Faust. Man. l. 6. c. 4. Qu. ex N. Test. 69. Second-
 ly, that the Sabbath was not kept in the Church of
 Christ; In illis decem praeceptis, excepta Sabbati observatio iu-
 ne, dicatur mihi quid non sit observandum à Christiano, de sp.
 “ & lit. c. 14. What is there (saith the Father) in all the
 “ Decalogue, except the keeping of the Sabbath, which is
 “ not punctually to be observed of every Christian? More
 of the like occurs de Genesi contr. Manich. l. 1. c. 22. cont.
 Adimant. ca. 2. Qu. in Exod. l. 2. qu. 173. And Thirdly,
 that it is not lawfull for a Christian to observe the Sab-
 bath.

Adv. Marc. l. 2.

Hom. de Sab. &
circum.

Epist. 72 l. 9.

De Vil. creden-
di c. 3.

bath. For speaking of the Law, how it was a *Padagogue*, to bring us unto the knowledge of *Christ*; he addes, that
 “ in those Institutes and Ordinances, *Quibus Christiani uti fas non est, quale est Sabbatum, circumcisio, sacrificia, &c.* which are not lawfull to be used by any *Christian*,
 “ such as are the *Sabbath, circumcision, sacrifices, and such*
 “ other things; many great mysteries were contained.
 And in another place, *Quisquis diem illum observat, sicut litera sonat, carnaliter sapit. Sapere autem secundum carnem mors est.* He that doth literally keep the *Sabbath*,
 “ favours of the flesh; but to favour of the flesh is death.
 Therefore no *Sabbath* to be kept by the *sonnes of life.*

De Sp. & lit. c.
14.

(9) No *Sabbath* to be kept at all? Wee affirme not so;
 We know there is a *spirituall Sabbath*, a *Sabbath* figured out unto us in the fourth Commandement, which every *Christian* man must keepe, who doth desire to enter into the rest of God. This is that *Sabbath* which the Prophet *Isaiah* hath commended to us. *Blessed is the man that keepeth the Sabbath from polluting it. Quid autem sabbatum est quod precipit observandum, &c.* What *Sabbath* is it,
 “ saith *S. Hierome*, which is here commanded? The following words, saith hee, will informe us that, *keeping our hands from doing evill.* This is the *Sabbath* here
 “ commanded, *Si bona faciens quiescat à malis*, if doing
 “ what is good we do rest from sin. Nor was this his conceit alone, the later Writers so expound it. The Prophet in this place, saith *Ryvet*, thus prophecies of the Church of *Christ*, *Blessed is the man that keepeth the Sabbath from polluting it, and keepeth his hands from doing any evill. Vbi custodire Sabbatum in Ecclesia Christiana, est custodire manus suas à malo.* And in these words, saith hee, to keep a *Sabbath* in the *Christian Church*, is onely to preserve our hands from doing evill. The like *spirituall Sabbath* doth the man of God prescribe unto us in the 38 Chap. of his book. *If thou turn away thy foot from the Sabbath, from doing thy pleasure on my holy day, &c. not doing thine*

In Decalog.

Verse. 13, 14.

thine own way, nor finding thine own pleasure, nor speaking thine owne words: then shalt thou delight thy selfe in the Lord, and I will cause thee to ride upon the high places of the earth, &c. What saith *S. Hierome* unto this? It must be understood, saith he, *spiritually. Alioquin si hac tantum prohibentur in Sabbato, ergo in aliis sex diebus tribuitur nobis libertas delinquendi.* For otherwise, if those things
 “ above remembred, are prohibited onely on the *Sabbaths*; then were it lawfull for us on the other dayes,
 “ to follow our own sinfull courses, speake our own idle
 “ words, and pursue our owne voluptuous pleasures;
 “ which were most foolish, to imagine. And so saith *Ryvet* too for the moderne Writers, *Perpetuam ab omnibus operibus nostris vitiosis cessationem, &c.* That everlasting rest from all sinfull works, which is begun in this
 “ life, here; and finished in the life to come; is signified
 “ and represented by those words of *Isaiah*, *ca. 58.* They therefore much mistake these Texts, and the meaning of them, who grounding thereupon, forbid all manner of recreations and lawfull pleasures, on their supposed *Sabbath day*; as being utterly prohibited by Gods holy Prophet. The *Jews* did thus abuse this Scripture, in the times before: and made it an unlawfull matter, for any man to walke into the fields, or to see his Gardens on the *Sabbath day*; either to marke what things they wanted, or how well they prospered: because this was to doe his own pleasure, and so forbidden by the Prophet. But those that understand the *spirituall Sabbath*, apply them to a better purpose; as was shewed before. And for the *Christian* or *spirituall Sabbath*, what it is, and in what things it doth consist, besides what hath been said already, wee shall adde something more from the ancient Fathers. If any man, saith *Iustin Martyr*, which hath been formerly a perjured person, a deceiver of his Neighbours, an incontinent liver, repents him of his sins, and amends his life: *καὶ μεταβαλὼν τὴν πρῆξιν καὶ ἀληθινὰ ὀφείλωντα τὸ θεῶν,*
 That

In locum.

In Decalog.

Maymon. ap.
Ains in Ex. 20.Dial. cum Try-
phon.

That man doth keepe a true and holy Sabbath to the Lord his God. See to this purpose also, *Clemens of Alexandria*, Strom. l. 4. So *Origen*, *Omnia qui vivit in Christo semper in Sabbatis vivit*; That man, whose life is hid with Christ in God, keeps a daily Sabbath. See to that purpose, *Hom. 23. in Numbers*. *Macarius* tells us also, that the Sabbath given from God by *Moses*, was a Type onely and a shadow of that real Sabbath *τὸ διδόνον τῇ ψυχῇ καὶ τῷ νου*, given by the Lord unto the soule. More fully *Chrysostome* *τὸ οὐκ εἶναι ἡμέραν τῆς διὰ μαρτύριον ἐσπράττον*, &c. What use, saith he, is there of a Sabbath, to him whose conscience is a continuall Feast, to him whose conversation is in Heaven? For now we feast it every day, doing no manner of wickednesse, but keeping a spirituall rest, holding our hands from covetousnesse, our bodies from uncleannesse. What need wee more? The Law of righteousness contains ten Commandements. The first, to know one God; the second to abstaine from Idols; the third not to prophane Gods Name; The fourth, *Sabbatum celebrare spirituale*, to keepe the true spirituall Sabbath, &c. So hee that made the *Opus imperfectum*, on Saint *Matthewes* Gospel. Saint *Augustine* finally makes the fourth Commandement, so farre as it concerns us *Christians*, to be no more then *requies cordis, & tranquillitas mentis, quam facit bona conscientia*, the quiet of the heart, and the peace of minde occasioned by a good conscience. Of any other Sabbath to be looked for now, the Fathers utterly are silent: and therefore we may well resolve, there is no such thing.

(10) Yet notwithstanding this, the *Jewes* still dote upon their Sabbath; and that more sortishly, and with more superstition far, then they ever did. A view whereof I shall present you, and so conclude the first part of this present argument. And first for the *Parasceves*, or their Eves, *Buxdorsius* thus informes us of their vaine behaviour, *Die Veneris singuli ungues de digitis abscindunt, &c.*

On

Tract. 19. in
Matth.

Hom. 35.

Hom. 39. in
Matth. 12.

Hom. 49. in
Matth. 24.

De convitiis, 10;
prec. & 10.
plagiarum.

Synag. Ind. c. 10.

“ On Friday in the afternoon, they pare their nailes, and
“ whet their knives, and lay their holyday-clothes in
“ readinesse, for the reception of *Queen Sabbath*, for so
“ they call it: and after lay the cloth, & set on their meat,
“ that nothing be to be done upon the morrow. About
“ the evening goes the Sexton from door to door, com-
“ manding all the people to abstaine from work, and to
“ make ready for the Sabbath. That done they take no
“ work in hand. Onely the women, when the Sun is neer
“ its setting, light up their Sabbath-lamps in their dining
“ roomes; and stretching out their hands towards them,
“ give them their blessing and depart. The morrow they
“ begin their Sabbath, very early; and for an entrance
“ thereunto, array themselves in their best clothes, and
“ their richest jewels: it being the conceit of *Rabbi Solomon*, that the memento in the Front of the fourth Com-
“ mandement, was placed there especially, to put the *Jews*
“ in mind of their holy-day Garments. Nay, so precise
“ they are in these preparations, and the following rest; that
“ if a *Jew* go forth on Friday, and on the night falls short of
“ home, more then is lawfull to be travailed on the Sabbath
“ day: there must hee set him downe, and there keepe his
“ Sabbath, though in a Wood, or in the Field, or the high-
“ way side, without all fear of wind or weather, of Theeves
“ or Robbers, without all care also of meat and drink *Periculo latronum praeconumque omni, penuria item omni cibi potusque, neglectis*, as that Authour hath it. For their behaviour on the Sabbath, & the strange niceties wherewith they abuse themselves, he describes it thus. *Equus aut asinus, Domini ipsius stabulo exiens, frenum aut capistrum non aliud quicquam portabit, &c.* An horse may have a bridle, or an halter, to leade, not a saddle to load him; and he that leadeth him, must not let it hang so loose, that it may seeme he rather carrieth the bridle, then leads the Horse. An Hen must not weare her hose, sowed about her leg. They may not milke their Kine, nor eat any of the

Id. cap. 11.

" the milke, though they have procured some *Christian*
 " to do that worke; unlesse they bury it. A *Taylor* may
 " not weare his Needle sticking on his sleeve. The lame
 " may use a staffe, but the blinde may not. They may not
 " burthen themselves with Clogs or *Pattens*, to keepe
 " their feet out of the dirt: nor rub their Shooes, if foule,
 " against the ground; but against a wall: nor wipe their
 " dirtie hands with a cloth or Towel; but with a Cowe or
 " Horfes tayle they may do it lawfully. A wounded man
 " may weare a plaster on his sore, that formerly was ap-
 " plied unto it: but if it fall off, hee may not lay it on a
 " new, or binde up any wound that day, nor carry mo-
 " ney in their purses, or about their clothes. They may
 " not carry a fan or flap to drive away the Flies. If a Flea
 " bite, they may remove it, but not kill it; but a Lowse
 " they may: yet *Rabbi Eliezer* thinks one may as law-
 " fully kill a Camel. They must not sling more Corn unto
 " their Poultry, then will serve that day: lest it may grow
 " by lying still, and they be said to sowe their Corn upon
 " the *Sabbath*. To whistle a tune with ones mouth, or
 " play it on an instrument, is unlawfull utterly: as also
 " to knocke with the ring, or hammer of a doore; or
 " knocke ones hand upon a Table, though it be onely to
 " still a childe. So likewise, to draw letters either in dust
 " or ashes, or on a wet-board is prohibited; but not to
 " fancie them in the aire. With many other infinite ab-
 " surdities of the like poore nature, wherewith the *Rabbins*
 " have been pleased to afflict their brethren, and make good
 " sport to all the World, which are not either *Jews*, or *Jew-*
 " *ishly* affected. Nay, to despight our Saviour, as *Buxdorsius*
 " tels us, they have determined since, that it is unlawfull to
 " lift the *Oxe* or *Ass* out of the ditch; which in the strictest
 " time of the *Pharisaicall* rigours, was accounted lawfull.
 " Indeed the marvaile is the lesse, that they are so uncharita-
 " ble to poore *Brute* creatures; when as they take such little
 " pitty upon themselves. *Cranzius* reports a story of a *Jew*
 " of

of *Magdeburg*, who falling on the *Saturday*, into a *Pri-*
vy, would not be taken out, because it was the *Sabbath*
day: and that the Bishop gave command, that there hee
 should continue on the *Sunday* also: so that betweene
 both, the poore *Jew* was poysoned with the very stinke.
 The like our *Annals* do relate of a *Jew* of *Tewkesbury*;
 whose story being cast into three riming Verses, accor-
 ding to the Poetry of those times, I have here presented
 and translated: Dialogue-wise, as they first made it.

Tende manus Solomon, ut te de stercore tollam.

Sabbata nostra colo, de stercore surgere nolo.

Sabbata nostra quidem, Solomon celebrabis ibidem.

Friend *Solomon*, thy hands up-reare,
 And from the jakes I will thee beare.

Our *Sabbath* I to highly prize,
 That from the place I will not rise.

Then *Solomon*, without more adoe,
 Our *Sabbath* thou shalt keepe there too.

For the continuance of their *Sabbath*, as they begin it ear-
 ly on the day before; so they prolong it on the day till
 late at night. And this they do in pitie to the souls in Hell;
 who all the while the *sabbath* lasteth, have free leave to
 " play. For as they tell us, silly wretches, upon the *Eve*
 " before the *sabbath*, it is proclaimed in Hell, that every
 " one may go his way, and take his pleasure: and when
 " the *sabbath* is concluded, they are recalled again to the
 " house of torments. I am ashamed to meddle longer in
 these trifles, these dreames and dotages of infatuated
 men, given over to a reprobate sense. Nor had I stood so
 long

long upon them, but that in this *Anatomic* of the *Jewish* *folies*, I might let some amongst us see, into what dangers they are falling. For there are some, indeed too many, who taking this for granted, which they cannot prove, that the Lords Day succeeds into the place and rights of the *Jewish Sabbath*; and is to be observed by vertue of the fourth Commandment: have trenched too neere upon the *Rabbins*, in binding men to nice & scrupulous observances; which neither we, nor our Fore-fathers, were ever able to endure. But with what warrant they have made a *Sabbath day*, in the Christian Church, where there was never any known in all times before; or upon what authority, they have presumed to lay such heavy *burthens*, upon the *consciencs* of poor men, which are free in *Christ*: wee shall the better see, by tracing downe the story from our Saviours time, unto the times in which we live. But I will here set down and rest, beseeching God, who enabled me thus farre, to guide me onwards to the end.

Tu qui principio medium, medio adice finem.

THE HISTORY OF THE SABBATH.

THE SECOND BOOK.

From the first preaching of the Gospel, to these present times.

BY
P. T. HEYLYN.

COLOS. 2. 16, 17.

Let no man judge you in meate or in drink, or in respect of an holy day, or of the new Moone, or of the SABBATH dayes: which are a shadow of things to come, but the body is of Christ.

LONDON,

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in Saint Pauls Church-yard. 1636.

To the Christian Reader!



And such I hope to meete with, in this part especially; which treating of the affaires of the Christian Church, cannot but be displeasing unto them, which are not Christianly affected. Our former Booke wee destinated to the Iewish part of this enquiry; wherein, though long it was before we found it, yet at the last we found a Sabbath. A Sabbath which began with that state and Church, and ended also when they were no longer to be called a Nation; but a dispersed and scattered ruine of what once they were. In that which followeth, our enquiry must be more diffused, of the same latitude with the Church; a Church not limited & confined to some Tribes and Kindreds, but generally spreading over all the world. Wee may affirme it of the Gospel, what Florus sometimes said of the state of Rome. Ita late per orbem terrarum arma circumtulit, ut qui res ejus legunt, non unius populi, sed generis humani facta discant. The history of the Church, and of the World, are of like extent. So that the search herein, as unto mee it was more

painfull in the doing, so unto thee will it be more
 pleasing being done, because of that variety which
 it will afford thee. And this Part we have called
 the History of the Sabbath too; although the
 institution of the Lords Day, and entertainment
 of the same in all times and Ages since that
 institution, bee the chiefe thing whereof it treateth.
 For being it is said, by some, that the Lords
 Day succeeded by the Lords appointment, into
 the place and rights of the Ievvish Sabbath; so
 to be called, and so to be observed, as the Sabbath
 was: this booke was wholly to bee spent
 in the search thereof, whether in all, or any
 Ages of the Church, either such doctrine had bin
 preached, or such praetise pressed, upon the con-
 sciences of Gods people. And search indeed we did
 with all care and diligence, to see if wee could
 finde a Sabbath, in any evidence of Scripture, or
 writings of the holy Fathers, or Edicts of Em-
 perours, or Decrees of Councils; or finally in any of
 the publike Acts & Monuments of the Christi-
 an Church. But after severall searches made,
 upon the alias, and the pluries, wee still returne,
 Non est inventus; and thereupon resolve
 in the Poets language, Et quod non invenis
 usquam, esse putes nusquam; that which is no
 where.

To the Reader.

where to be found, may very strongly bee conclu-
 ded not to be at all. Buxdorsius in the 11. Chap-
 ter of his Synagoga Iudaica, out of Antonius
 Margarita, tels us of the Ievves, quod die sab-
 batino, praeter animam consuetam, praediti
 sunt & alia; that on the Sabbath day, they are
 perswaded that they have an extraordinary soule
 infused into them, which doth enlarge their hearts,
 and rowze up their spirits, Vt Sabbatum mul-
 to honorabilius peragere possint, that they
 may celebrate the Sabbath with the greater ho-
 nour. And though this sabbatarie soule, may by a
 Pythagoricall ^{μετεμψυχωσις} seeme to have transmi-
 grated from the Ievves, into the bodies of some
 Christians, in these later dayes: yet I am apt to
 give my selfe good hopes, that by presenting to
 their view, the constant praetise of Gods Church
 in all times before, and the consent of all Gods
 Churches at this present; they may be dispos-
 sessed thereof without great difficulty. It is but
 anima superflua, as Buxdorsius calls it; and
 may be better spared, than kept, because super-
 fluous. However I shall easily perswade my
 selfe, that by this generall representation of the
 state and praetise of the Church of Christ, I may
 confirme the wavering, in a right perswasion; and

assure such as are already well affected, by shewing them the perfect harmony and agreement, which is betweene this Church and the purest times. It is our constant prayer to almighty God, as well that hee would strengthen such as doe stand, and confirme the weake, as to raise up those men which are already fallen into sinne and error. As are our prayers, such should be also our endeavours; as universall to all sorts of men, as charitable to them in their severall cases and distresses. Happy those men, who do aright discharge their duties, both in their prayers, and their performance. The blessing of our labours wee must leave to him, who is all in all: without whom all Pauls planting, and Apollos watering, will yeeld poore increase. In which of these three states soever thou art, good Christian Reader, let me beseech thee kindly to accept these paines; which for thy sake were undertaken; that so I might, in some poore measure, be an instrument, to strengthen or confirme, or raise thee; as thy case requires. This is the most that I desire, and lesse than this thou couldst not do, did I not desire it. And so fare thee well.



THE HISTORY OF THE SABBATH.

The second Booke.

CHAP. I.

That there is nothing found in Scripture,
touching the keeping of the
LORDS DAY.

(1) The Sabbath not intended for a perpetuall ordinance. (2) Preparatives unto the dissolution of the Sabbath, by our Saviour Christ. (3) The Lords day not enjoined in the place thereof, either by Christ, or his Apostles: but instituted by the authority of the Church.

Aa 4

(4) Our

(4) Our Saviours resurrection on the first day of the weeke, and apparitions on the same, make it not a Sabbath. (5) The coming downe of the Holy Ghost, upon the first day of the weeke, makes it not a Sabbath. (6) The first day of the weeke not kept more like a Sabbath, than the other dayes, by Saint Peter, Saint Paul, or any other of the Apostles. (7) Saint Paul frequents the Synagogue, on the Iewish Sabbath, and upon what reasons. (8) What was concluded against the Sabbath, in the Council holden in Hierusalem. (9) The preaching of Saint Paul at Troas, upon the first day of the weeke, no argument, that then that day was set apart by the Apostles, for religious exercises. (10) Collections, on the first day of the week, 1 Cor. 16. conclude as little for that purpose. (11) Those places of Saint Paul, Galat. 4. 10. Coloss. 2. 16. doe prove invincibly, that there is no Sabbath to be looked for. (12) The first day of the weeke not called the Lords day, untill the end of the first age: and what that title adds unto it.

(1)



As shewed you in the former booke, what did occurre about the Sabbath, from the Creation of the world, to the destruction of the Temple: which comprehended the full time of 4000 years, and upwards, in the opinion of the most and best Chronologers. Now for five parts of eight, of the time computed, from the Creation to the Law, being in all 2540 yeares, and somewhat more; there was no Sabbath knowne at all. And for the fiftene hundred, being the remainder, it was not so observed by the Iewes themselves, as if it had been any part of the Law of Nature: but sometimes kept, and sometimes broken; either according as mens private bu-

sineses,

sineses, or the affaires of the republicke, would give way unto it. Never such conscience made thereof, as of adultery, murder, blasphemy, or idolatry; no not when as the Scribes and Pharisees had most made it burdensome: there being many *casus reservati*, wherein they could dispense with the fourth Commandement, though not with any of the other. Had they beene all alike, equally naturall and morall, as it is conceived; they had beene all alike observed, all alike immutable: no jot nor syllable of that law, which was ingraft by nature in the soule of man, being to fall to the ground, till heaven & earth shall passe away, and decay together; till the whole frame of Nature, for preservation of the which that Law was given, bee dissolved for ever. The Abrogation of the Sabbath which before we spake of, shewes plainly that it was no part of the Morall law, or Law of Nature: there being no law naturall, which is not perpetuall. Tertullian takes it for confest, or at least makes it plaine and evident, *Temporale fuisse mandatum quod quandoque cessaret*, that it was onely a temporary constitution, which was, in time, to have an end. And after him, *Procopius Gazæus*, in his notes on *Exodus*, layes down two severall sorts of lawes, whereof some were to be perpetuall, and some were not; of which last sort were *Circumcision*, and the Sabbath. *Quæ duraverunt usque in adventum Christi*, which lasted till our Saviours coming; and he being come, went out insensibly of themselves. For as S. Ambrose rightly tels us, *Absente imperatore imago ejus habet auctoritatem, præsentem non habet, &c.* What time the Emperour is absent, we give some honour to his State, or representative; but none at all, when he is present. And so, saith he, the Sabbaths, and new-moones, and the other festivals, before our Saviours coming, had a time of honour, during the which they were observed: but he being present once, they became neglected. But hereof wee have spoke more fully in our former booke.

(2) Neg-

Luk. 4. 16.

Luk. 8. 1.

(2) Neglected, not at once, and upon the sudden; but leasurely and by degrees. There were *preparatives* unto the *Sabbath*, as before we shewed, before it was proclaimed, as a *Law*, by *Moses*: and there were some *preparatives* required, before that law of *Moses* was to be repealed. These wee shall easiliest discover, if wee shall please to looke on our *Saviours* actions: who gave the first hint unto his disciples, for the abolishing of the *Sabbath*, amongst other *ceremonies*. Its true, that he did frequently repaire unto the *synagogues* on the *Sabbath* dayes; and on those dayes, did frequently both reade and expound the *Law*, unto the people. And he came to *Nazareth*; saith the Text, where hee had beene brought up, and as his custome was, he went into the *Synagogue* on the *Sabbath* day, and stood up to reade. It was his custome so to doe, both when he lived a private life, to frequent the *synagogue*; that other men might doe the like, by his good example: and after when he undertooke the *ministry*, to expound the *Law* unto them, there; that they might be the better by his good instructions. Yet did not hee conceive that teaching or expounding the word of God, was annexed onely to the *synagogue*, or to the *Sabbath*. That most divine and heavenly Sermon, which takes up three whole Chapters of *S. Matthews* Gospel, was questionlesse a weeke dayes worke: and so were most of those, delivered to us in *S. Iohn*; as also that, which he did preach unto them from the ship-side, and divers others. Nay the text tells us, that hee went through every City, and Village, preaching, and shewing the glad tydings of God. Too great a taske to be performed onely on the *Sabbath* dayes: and therefore doubt wee not, but that all dayes equally were taken up, for so great a businesse. So when hee sent out his *Apostles*, to preach the kingdome of God, hee bound them not to dayes and times, but left all at liberty: that they might take their best advantages, as occasion was; and lose no time in the advancing of their Masters

Masters service. Now as in this, hee seemed to give all dayes the like prerogative, with the *Sabbath*; so many other wayes, did he abate that estimation, which generally the people had conceived of the *Sabbath* day. And howsoever the opinion which the people generally had conceived thereof, was grounded, as the times then were, on superstition rather, then true sence of piety: yet that opinion once abated, it was more easily prepared for a dissolution; and went away at last, with lesse noise and clamour. Particulars of this nature we will take along, as they lye in order. His casting out the *uncleane spirit*, out of a man, in the *synagogue* of *Capernaum*, on the *Sabbath* day; his curing of *Peters wives mother*, and healing many which were sicke of diverse diseases, on the selfe same day: being all workes of marvellous mercy, and effected onely by his word, brought no clamour with them. But when he cured the *impotent man*, at the poole of *Bethesda*; and had commanded him to take up his bed and walke; then did the *Iewes* begin to persecute him, and seeke to slay him. And how did he excuse the matter? *My Father worketh hitherto*, saith he, *and I also worke*: *Ostendens per hac, in nullo seculi huius Sabbato requiescere Deum, a dispensationibus mundi, & provisionibus generis humani*. Whereby, saith *Ori-* gen, he let them understand, that there was never any, *Sabbath*, wherein God rested or left off, from having a due care of mankind: and therefore neither would he intermit such a weighty businesse, in any reference to the *Sabbath*. Which answer when it pleased them not, but that they sought their times to kill him; he then remembreth them how they themselves upon the *Sabbath* used to circumcise a man, & that as lawfully he might do the one, as they the other. This precedent made his disciples a little bolder, then otherwise perhaps they wold have beene; Pulling the eares of corne, and rubbing them with their hands, and eating them to satisfy and allay their hunger: which *Epiphanius* thinkes they would not have done,

done, though they were an hungred, had they not found both by his doctrine and example, that the *Sabbath* did beginne to be in its declination. For which, when he, and they, were joyntly questioned by the *Pharisees*, he choaks them with the instances of what *David* did in the same extremity, when hee ate the *shew-bread*; and what the *Priests* did every *Sabbath*, when they *slaw* the *sacrifices*. In which it is to be considered, that in these severall defences, our *Saviour* goes no higher then the *legall ceremonies*, the *sacrifice*, the *shew-bread*, and the *Circumcision*. No argument or parallell case drawne for his justification, from the *morall law*; or any such neglect thereof, on the like occasions. Which plainly shews, that he conceived the *Sabbath* to be no part or member of the *morall law*; but onely to be ranked amongst the *Mosaicall ordinances*. It happened on another *Sabbath*, that in the *synagogue* he beheld a man with a withered hand; and called him forth, and made him come into the midst, and stretch out his hand, and then restored it. Hereupon the Author of the *Homilie* entituled *de Semente*, ascribed to *Athanasius*, hath noted thus, ἐπεὶ ἐν σαββάτῳ τὸ τῶν θαυματουργημάτων ἐπιδείξεται, that *Christ* reserved his greatest miracles for the *Sabbath* day: and that hee bad the man stand forth, in defiance as it were of all their malice, and informing humor: His healing of the woman which had bene crooked 18. yeares, and of the man that had the droppe; one in the *synagogue*, the other in the house of a principall *Pharisee*, are prooffe sufficient that he feared not their accusations. But that great cure he wrought on him that was borne blinde, is most remarkable to this purpose. First, in relation to our *Saviour*, who had before healed others with his word alone; but here he spit upon the ground, and made clay thereof, and anointed the eyes of the blinde man with the clay: ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐστὶ πᾶλον φερεται, but to mould clay and make a plaster, was questionlesse a worke, so saith *Epiphanius*. Next in relation

Lut. 6. 6.

Hom. de Semente.

Ioh. 9.

L. I. Hares. 30
n. 32.

relation to the patient, whom he commanded to goe into the poole of *Siloam*, and then wash himselfe: which certainly could not be done without bodily labour. These words and actions of our *Saviour*, as before we said, gave the first hint to his disciples for the abolishing of the *Sabbath*, amongst other ceremonies; which were to have an end, with our *Saviours* sufferings; to be nailed with him, to his *Crosse*, and buried with him, in his grave, for ever. Now where it was objected in *S. Austins* time, why *Christians* did not keepe the *Sabbath*, since *Christ* affirms it of himself, that he came not to destroy the Law but to fulfill it: the Father thereto makes reply, that therefore they observed it not, *Quia quod ea figura profitebatur, jam Christus implevit*, because our *Savior* had fulfilled what ever was intended in that Law, by calling us to a spiritual rest, in his owne great mercy. For as it is most truly said by *Epiphanius*, ἡ τὸ ἐν τῷ κυρίῳ οὐκ ἔσται, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν τῷ κυρίῳ οὐκ ἔσται, &c. He was the great and everlasting *Sabbath*, whereof the lesse (and temporall) *Sabbath* was a type and figure, which had continued till his coming: by him commanded in the law; in him destroyed, and yet by him fulfilled in the holy Gospel. So *Epiphanius*.

Cont. Faust. 1.
19. c. 9.Lib. I. h. 3. c.
32.

(3) Neither did he, or his disciples, ordaine another *Sabbath* in the place of this, as if they had intended onely to shift the day; and to transferre this honour to some other time. Their doctrine and their practise are directly contrary, to so new a fancy. It is true, that in some tract of time, the *Church* in honour of his resurrection, did set apart that day on the which he rose, to holy exercises: but this upon their owne authority, and without warrant from above, that we can heare of; more then the generall warrant which God gave his *Church*, that all things in it be done decently, and in comely order. This is that which is told us in the *Homilie*, inscribed as formerly wee noted, unto *Athanasius*: πῶς μὲν ἐν κυριακῇ διὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν, we honour the Lords day for the resurrection.

Hom. de Semente.

Hom. 3. de
Pentecost.

Ep. 119.

Li. 5. c. 22.

De Sabb. &
Circumcis.

tion. So Maximus Taurinensis, *Dominicum diem ideo solennem esse, quia in eo salvator, velut sol oriens, discussis infernorum tenebris, luce resurrectionis emicuerit*; That the Lords day is therefore solemnly observed, because thereon our Saviour, like the rising Sun, dispelled the clouds of hellish darkenes, by the light of his most glorious resurrection. The like S. Austin, *Dies Dominicus Christianis resurrectione Domini declaratus est, & ex illo cepit habere festivitatem suam*. The Lords day was made knowne, saith he, unto us Christians, by the resurrection, and from that began to be accounted holy. See the like, *lib. 23. de Civit. Dei. c. 30. & serm. 15. de Verbis Apostoli*. But then it is withall to be observed, that this was onely done on the authority of the Church, and not by any precept of our Lord and Saviour, or any one of his Apostles. And first, besides that there is no such precept extant at all in holy Scripture, Socrates hath affirmed it in the generall, *σάπρον μὲν εἶναι τοῖς Ἀποστόλοις, ὃ περὶ ἡμερῶν ἐορταστικῶν νομοθετεῖν*, &c. that the designs of the Apostles was not to busie themselves in prescribing festivall dayes, but to instruct the people in the wayes of godlinesse. Now lest it should be said, that Socrates being a Novatian, was a profest enemy to all the orders of the Church, we have the same, almost *verbatim*, in Nicephorus, *lib. 12. cap. 32.* of his Ecclesiasticall History. S. Athanasius saith as much, for the particular of the Lords day, that it was taken up by a *voluntary usage* in the Church of God, without any commandement from above. *ὡς περ ἐν ἐνέτει- λατο βυλάπειν*, &c. As saith the Father, it was commanded at the first, that the Sabbath day should be observed, in memory of the accomplishment of the world: *ἐπὶ τῇ κυριακῇ τιμῶμεν μνήμην ὅταν ἀρχῇς διωτέως ἀνακτίσεως*, so doe we celebrate the Lords day, as a memoriall of the beginning of a new creation. Where note the difference here delivered by that Reverend Prelate. Of the Jews Sabbath it is saide, *βυλάπειν ἐντετατατο*, that it was com-

commanded to be kept: but of the Lords day there is no commandement, onely a positive *τιμῶμεν*, an honour voluntarily afforded it by consent of men. Therefore whereas we find it in the Homilie, entituled *De Semente*, *μετέθινε ὁ κύριος τὴν σαββάτην ἡμετέραν, εἰς κυριακὴν*, that Christ transferred the Sabbath to the Lords day; this must be understood, not as if done by his commandement, but on his occasion: the resurrection of our Lord upon that day, being the principall motive, which did induce his Church to make choice thereof, for the assemblies of the people. For otherwise that Authour whosoever he was, would plainly crosse what formerly had beene saide by Athanasius, in his *Τιμῶμεν*; and not him onely, but the whole cloud of witnesses, all the Catholike Fathers, in whom there is not any word which reflects that way; but much in affirmation of the contrary. For besides what is said before, and elsewhere shall be said in its proper place; The Councell held at Paris, Anno. 829. ascribes the keeping of the Lords day, at most to Apostolicall tradition, confirmed by the authority of the Church. For so the Councell, *Christianorum religiosa devotionis, quæ ut creditur Apostolorum traditione immo Ecclesiæ autoritate descendit, mos inolevit, ut Dominicum diem, ob Dominicæ resurrectionis memoriam, honorabiliter colat*. It is a custome of long standing in the religious devotion of the Christian people, which as it is conceived, descended from the tradition of the Apostles, but rather from the authority of the Church, that they doe honour the Lords day, in memorie of the Lords resurrection. Where note, the Synod calls it a custome onely; and such a custome as was chiefly founded on the authority of the Church. And last of all Toftatus puts this difference, betweene the Festivals of the old testament, and those now solemnized in the new: that in the old testament, God appointed all the festivals which were to be observed in the Jewish Church: *in novo nulla festivitas a Christo legiflavore determinata est, sed in Ecclesiæ*

Cap. 24. v. 20.

Ecclesia Prelati ista statuunt; but in the new, there were
 “no Festivals at all prescribed by Christ, as being left
 “unto the Prelates of the Church, by them to be appoint-
 “ted as occasion was. What others of the ancient writers,
 and what the Protestant Divines have affirmed herein, we
 shall hereafter see in their proper places. As for these
 words of our Redeemer, in S. *Matthews* Gospell. Pray
 that your flight be not in the winter, neither on the Sabbath
 day; they have indeed been much alleadged, to proove
 that Christ did intimate, at the least, unto his Apostles, and
 the rest, that there was a particular day by him appoint-
 ted, whereof he willed them to be carefull: which being
 not the Jewish Sabbath, must of necessity, as they thinke,
 be the Lords day. But certainly the Fathers tell us no
 such matter, nay, they say the contrary: and make these
 words a part of our Redeemers admonition to the Jewes,
 not to the Apostles. Saint *Chrysostome* hath it so expressely.
 In Mat. 24. Οὐδὲ ὅτι πρὸς Ἰουδαίους ὁ λόγος αὐτοῦ, &c. Behold, saith he how
 “he addresseth his discourse unto the Jewes, and tels them
 “of the evils which should fall upon them: for neither
 “were the Apostles bound to observe the Sabbath; nor
 “were they there, when those calamities fell upon the
 “Jewish Nation. Not in the winter, nor on the Sabbath, and
 “why so saith he? Because their flight being so quick
 “and suddaine, ὅτε ἐν σαββάτῳ Ἰουδαῖοι φεύγειν ἔσονται, nei-
 “ther the Jewes would dare to flie on the Sabbath, [for
 “such their superstition was in the latter times] nor
 “would the winter but be very troublesome, in such di-
 “stresses. *Theophylact* doth affirme expressely, that this was
 “spake unto the Jewes, and spoke upon the selfesame
 “reasons: adding withal, οἱ γὰρ Ἀπόστολοι πρὸς ὅσους ἐξελθόν-
 τες τῆς Ἱερουσαλὴμ, that before any of those miseries fell upon
 that Nation, the Apostles were al departed from out *Ieru-*
salem. S. *Hierom* saith as much, as unto the time, that those
 calamities which by our Saviour were foretold, were ge-
 nerally referred unto the wars of *Titus* and *Vespasian* and
 that

that both in his Comment on S. *Matthews* Gospell, and his
 Epistle to *Algasia*. And for the thing, that the Apostles and
 the rest of the Disciples, were al departed from *Ierusalem*
 before that heavy warr began, is no lesse evident in story.
 For the Apostles long before that time were either mar-
 tyred; or dispersed in several places, for the enlargment of
 the Gospell, not any of them resident in *Ierusalem* after the
 martyrdom of S. *James*, who was Bishop there. And for
 the residue of the Disciples, they had forsok the Country
 also; before the warres: being admonished so to do by an
 heavenly vision, which warned them to withdraw from
 thence and repaire to *Pella*, beyond *Jordan*, as *Eusebius*
 tels us. So that these words of our Redeemer could not
 be spoke as to the Apostles, and in them unto all the rest
 of the Disciples, which should follow after; but to the peo-
 ple of the Jewes. To whom our Saviour gave this cauti-
 on, not that he did not thinke it lawfull for them to flie
 upon the Sabbath day: but that as things then were, and
 as their consciences were intangled by the Scribes and
Pharisees, he found that they would count it a most grie-
 vous misery, to be put unto it. To returne then unto our
 story, as the chiefe reason, why the Christians of the pri-
 mitive times, did set apart this day to religious uses, was
 because Christ, that day, did rise again from death to life,
 for our justification: so there was some analogie or pro-
 portion, which this day seemed to hold with the former
 Sabbath, which might more easily induce them to ob-
 serve the same. For as God rested on the Sabbath from
 all the workes which he had done in the Creation: so did
 the Sonne of God rest also on the day of his resurrection,
 from all the workes which he had done in our Redemption,
 ἐν ταύτῃ γὰρ κατέπαυεν ἀληθῶς, ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ, ὁ Μονο-
 γενὴς Θεός. as *Gregory Nyssen* notes it for us. Yet so that
 as the Father rested not on the former Sabbath from the
 workes of preservation; so neither doth our Saviour rest
 at any time, from perfecting this worke of our redemp-
 tion.

Hist. Eccles. 2.

6. 5.

Orat. in sancta
Pascha.

tion by a perpetuall application of the benefit and effects thereof. This was the cause, and these the motives, which did induce the Church in some tract of time; to solemnize the day of *Christs resurrection*, as a *weekly Festival*; though not to keepe it as a *Sabbath*.

(4) I say in tract of time, for *ab initio non fuit sic*, it was not so in the beginning. The very day it selfe was not so observed: though it was knowne to the *Apostles* in the morning early, that the *Lord was risen*. We find not on the newes, that they came together, for the performance of divine and religious exercises; much lesse that they intended it for a *Sabbath day*: or that our *Saviour* came amongst them untill late at night, as in all likelihood he would have done, had any such performance beene thought necessary, as was required unto the making of a *Sabbath*. Nay, which is more, our blessed *Saviour*, on that day, and two of the *Disciples*, whatsoever the others did, were otherwise employed then in *Sabbath duties*. For from *Hierusalem* to *Emaus*, whether the two *Disciples* went, was *sixty furlongs*, which is seven miles and an halfe, and so much backe againe unto *Hierusalem*, which is fifteen miles. And *Christ* who went the journey with them, at least, part thereof; and left them not untill they came unto *Emaus*; was backe againe that night, and put himselfe into the midst of the *Apostles*. Had he intended it for a *Sabbath day*, doubtles he would have rather joyned himself with the *Apostles*, who as it is most likely, kept themselves together, in expectation of the issue, and so were most prepared and firted to begin the new *Christian Sabbath*: then with those men, who contrary to the nature of a *Sabbaths rest*, were now engaged in a journey, and that for ought wee know, about worldly businesses. Nor may we thinke, but that our *Saviour* would have told them of so great a fault, as violating the new *Christian Sabbath*, even in the first beginning of it; had any *Sabbath* beene intended. As for the being

Luke 24.13.

being of the *eleven* in a place together, that could not have relation to any *Sabbath duties*, or religious exercises; being none such were yet commanded: but onely to those cares and feares, wherewith, poore men, they were distracted: which made them loath to part asunder, till they were settled in their hopes; or otherwise resolved on somewhat, whereunto to trust. And where it is conceived by some, that our most blessed *Saviour* shewed himselfe oftner unto the *Apostles*, upon the first day of the weeke, then on any other; and therefore by his owne appearances, did sanctifie that day, instead of the *Jewish Sabbath*: neither the premisses are true, nor the sequell necessary. The premisses not true, for it is no where to be found, that he appeared oftner on the first day, then any other of the week: it being said in holy Scripture, that hee was seen of them by the space of forty dayes; as much on one, as on another. His first appearing, after the night following his resurrection, which is particularly specified in the book of God, was when he shewed himself to *Thomas*, who before was absent. That the text tels us, was after eight daies from the time before remembered: which some conceive to be the eighth day after, or the next first day of the weeke; and therupon conclude that day to be most proper for the Congregations, or publicke meetings of the Church. *Diem in Ioh 1.17. octavum quo Christus Thomæ apparuit; Dominicū diem esse cap. 18. necesse est*, as Saint *Cyrl* hath it: *Iure igitur sanctæ congregationes die octavo in Ecclesia fiunt*. But where the Greeke Text reades it, *μεθ' ἡμέρας ὀκτώ*, post octo dies in the vulgar Latine, after eight dayes according to our English Bibles: that should be rather understood of the ninth or tenth, then the eighth day after; and therefore could not be upon the first day of the weeke, as it is imagined. Now as the premisses are untrue, so the Conclusion is unfirme. For if our *Saviours apparition* unto his *Disciples*, were of it selfe sufficient to create a *Sabbath*: then must that day, whereon Saint *Peter* went on fishing, be a *Sabbath* also; and

Act. 1.3.

Ioh 20.26.

and so must *holy Thursday* too; it being most evident, that *Christ* appeared on those dayes unto his *Apostles*. So that as yet, from our *Redeemers resurrection* unto his *ascension*, we find not any word or *Item* of a *new Christian Sabbath* to be kept amongst them; or any evidence for the *Lords day* in the *four* *Evangelists*, either in *precept* or in *practice*.

(5) The first particular passage which doth occur in *holy Scripture*, touching the *first day of the weeke*, is that upon that day, the *Holy Ghost* did first come downe on the *Apostles*: and that upon the same Saint *Peter* preached his first Sermon unto the *Iewes*, and baptized such of them as beleevd; there being added to the *Church*, that day, three thousand soules. This happened on the Feast of *Pentecost*, which fell that yeare upon the Sunday, or *first day of the weeke*, as elsewhere the *Scripture* calls it: but as it was a speciall and a casuall thing, so can it yeeld but little prooffe, if it yeeld us any, that the *Lords day* was then observed; or that the *Holy Ghost* did by selecting of that day for his descent on the *Apostles*, intend to dignifie it for a *Sabbath*. For first it was a casuall thing, that *Pentecost* should fall that yeare upon the Sunday. It was a *moveable Feast*, as unto the day, such as did change and shift it selfe, according to the position of the Feast of *Passover*: the rule being this; that on what day soever, the second of the *Passover* did fall, upon that also fell the great feast of *Pentecost*. Nam. Πεντηκοστή *semper eadem* *amend. Temp.* est feria, qua ἡ δευτέρα, τὸ πᾶσχα; as *Scaliger* hath rightly noted. So that as often as the *Passover* did fall upon the *Saturday* or *Sabbath*, as this yeare it did; then *Pentecost* fell upon the *Sunday*: but when the *Passover* did chance to fall upon the *Tuesday*, the *Pentecost* fell that yeare upon the *Wednesday*; & sic de ceteris. And if the rule be true, as I thinke it is, that no sufficient argument can be drawne from a casuall fact; and that the falling of the *Pentecost*, that yeare, upon the *first day of the weeke*, be

be meerely *casuall*: the coming of the *Holy Ghost* upon that day, will be no argument nor authority, to state the *first day of the weeke*, in the place and honour of the *Iewish Sabbath*. There may be other reasons given, why God made choice of that time, rather than of any other: as first because about that very time before, he had proclaimed the *Law* upon Mount *Sinai*; and secondly, that so hee might the better countenance and grace the *Gospel*, in the sight of men, and adde the more authority unto the doctrine of the *Apostles*. The Feast of *Pentecost* was a great and famous Festivall, at which the *Jewes*, all of them, were to come unto *Hierusalem*, there to appeare before the Lord: and amongst others, those which had their hands in our Saviours blood. And therefore as Saint *Chrysostome* notes it, did God send downe the *Holy Ghost*, at that time of *Pentecost*; because those men that did consent to our Saviours death, might publickely receive rebuke for that bloody Act; and so beare record to the power of our Saviours *Gospel*, before all the World: ὅτε δὲ τὸ ἔορτ πολλοὶ παῖσαν τῶν στυγερῶν αὐτῶν, ἵνα λαμβάνωσι τὸ αὐτῶν μαρτυρίαν, καὶ ἔλεγον, as that Father hath it. So that the thing being *casuall*, as unto the day; and *speciall*, as unto the *businessse* then by God intended: it will afford us little prooffe, as before I said, either that the *Lords day* was, as then, observed; or that the *Holy Ghost* did select that day for so great a worke, to dignifie it for a *Sabbath*. in Act. 2.

(6) As for Saint *Peters* preaching upon that day, and the baptizing of so many, as were converted to the faith, upon the same: it might have been some prooffe, that now, at least, if not before, the *first day of the weeke* was set apart by the *Apostles*, for religious exercises: had they not honoured *all dayes* with the same performances. But if we search the *Scriptures*, we shall easily find, that all daies were alike to them, in that respect: no day, in which they did not preach the word of life, and administer the Sacraments

craments of their Lord and Saviour, to such as either wanted it, or did desire it. Or were it that the *Scriptures* had not told us of it, yet *naturall reason* would informe us, that those who were employed in so great a worke, as the *conversion* of the *World*, could not confine themselves unto times and seasons; but must take all advantages, whensoever they came. But for the *Scripture*, it is said in termes expresse, first generally, that the *Lord* added daily to the *Church*, such as should be saved; and therefore without doubt, the meanes of their salvation were daily ministred unto them: and in the fifth Chapter of the *Acts*, that daily in the *Temple*, and in every house, they ceased not to teach and preach *Iesus Christ*. So for particulars, when *Philip* did baptize the *Eunuch*, either he did it on a working day, as we now distinguish them, and not upon the first day of the weeke; and so it was no *Lords day* duty; or else it was not held unlawfull, to take a journey on that day, as some thinke it is. Saint *Peters* preaching to *Cornelius*, and his baptizing of that house, was a weeke dayes worke, as may be gathered from Saint *Hierome*. That Father tels us, that the day whereon the vision appeared to *Peter*, was probably the *Sabbath*, or the *Lords day*, as we call it now; *feri potuit ut vel Sabbatum esset, vel dies Dominicus*, as the Father hath it: and choose you which you will, we shall find little in it, for a *Christian Sabbath*. In case it was on the *Sabbath*, then *Peter* did not keepe the *Lords day*, holy, as he should have done, if so that day was then selected for Gods worship; for the text tels us, that the next day, he did begin his journey to *Cornelius* house. In case it was upon the *Lords day*, as we call it now, then neither did Saint *Peter* sanctifie that day in the Congregation, as he ought to doe, had that day then beene made the *Sabbath*; and his conversion of *Cornelius*, being three dayes after, must of necessity be done on the Wednesday following. So that we find no *Lords day Sabbath*, either of *S. Peters* keeping, or of *S. Philips*:
or

Acts 2. 47.

Verse 42.

Acts 8.

Advers. Iovinian 1. 2.

Acts 10. 24.

or else the preaching of the Word, and the administering the Sacraments, were not affixed at all unto the first day of the weeke, as the peculiar markes and characters thereof. So for Saint *Paul*, the *Doctour* of the *Gentiles*, who laboured more abundantly then the other *Apostles*, besides what shall be said particularly in the following section, it may appeare in generall, that hee observed no *Lords-day-sabbath*; but taught on all dayes, travailed on all dayes; and wrought according to his Trade, upon all daies too; when he had no employment in the Congregation. That he did teach on all dayes, is not to be questioned. That he did *travaile* upon all dayes, is no lesse notorious, to all that looke upon his life, which was still in motion. And howsoever he might rest sometimes on the *Lords day*, as questionlesse hee did on others, as often as upon that day he preached the Gospel: yet when he was a Prisoner in the hands of the *Roman souldiers*, there is no doubt, but that he travailed as they did *Lords dayes*, and *Sabbaths*, all dayes equally, many dayes together. Of this see what Saint *Luke* hath written in the last Chapters of the *Acts*. Lastly, for working at his Trade (which was *Tent-making*) on the *Lords day*, as well as others, *Conradus Diatericus* proves it out of *Hierome*, that when hee had none unto whom to preach in the Congregation; hee followed on the *Lords day*, the workes of his Occupation. *Hieronymus colligit ex Act. 18. vers. 3. & 4. quod die etiam Dominica, quando, quibus in publico conventu concionaretur, non habebat; manibus suis laboravit.* So *Diatericus*, speaking of our *Apostle*. Now what is proved of these *Apostles*, and of Saint *Philip* the *Evangelist*; may be affirmed of all the rest, whose lives and actions are not left upon record in holy Scripture. Their *Ministry* being the same, and their worke as great; no question but their liberty was correspondent: and that they tooke all times to be alike, in the
advan-
B b 4

1. Dominican
17. post. Trinit.

advancing of the businesse which they went about; and cherished all occasions presented to them, on what day soever. What further may be said hereof, in reference to Saint *John*, who lived longest of them, and saw the Church established, and her publicke meetings in some order; we shall see hereafter in his owne place and time. Meane while we may conclude for certaine, that in the planting of the Church, he used all dayes equally; kept none more holy then another: and after, when the Church was settled, how ever he might keepethis holy, and honour it for the use which was made thereof; yet he kept other dayes, so used, as holy, but never any like a Sabbath.

(7) Proceed wee next unto Saint *Paul*, in his particular; of whom the Scripture tells us more, then of all the rest: and wee shall finde, that hee no sooner was converted, but that forth with hee preached in the synagogues, that *Jesus was the Christ*. If in the synagogues, most likely that it was on the Jewish Sabbath; the synagogues being destinate especially to the Sabbath dayes. So after he was called to the publike Ministry, hee came to *Antiochia*, and went into the synagogue on the Sabbath day, and there preached the Word. What was the issue of his Sermon? That the Text informs us. And when the Jewes were gone out of the synagogue, the Gentiles besought that these words might be preached againe the next Sabbath. Saint *Paul* assented thereunto, and the next Sabbath day, as the Text tells us, came almost the whole City together, to heare the Word of God. It seemes the Lords day was not growne as yet into any credit, especially not into the repute of the Jewish Sabbath: for if it had, Saint *Paul* might easily have told these Gentiles, (that is, such Gentiles as had beene converted to the Jewish Church) that the next day would be a more convenient time, and indeed *opus diei in die suo*, the doctrine of the resurrection, on the day thereof. This happened in the forty sixt yeare of Christs Nativity; some twelve

twelve yeares after his Passion and Resurrection: and often, after this, did the Apostle shew himselfe in the Jewish synagogues, on the Sabbath dayes; which I shall speake of here together, that so wee may goe on unto the rest of this discourse, with lesse interruption. And first it was upon the Sabbath, that he did preach to the *Philippians*, and baptized *Lydia with her household*. Acts 16. Amongst the *Thessalonians*, he reasoned three Sabbath dayes together, out of the Scriptures; Acts 17. At *Corinth* every Sabbath day, with the Jewes and Greekes; Acts 18. besides those many texts of Scripture, when it is said of him that he went into the synagogues, and therefore probably that it was upon the Sabbath, as before wee said. Not that Saint *Paul* was so affected to the Sabbath, as to preferre that day before any other: but that he found the people at those times assembled, and so might preach the Word, with the greater profit. Saint *Chrysostome*, for the Ancients hath resolved it so; καλὸς δὲ τὸ σαλῶν εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὴν συναγωγὴν, ὅτι πάντες ἦσαν συνεληγμένοι. He came most fitly to the Synagogue on the Sabbath dayes, because the people then were all met together; as the Father hath it. So *Calvin*, for the moderne Writers, makes this the speciall cause of Saint *Pauls* resort unto the places of assembly, on the Sabbath day, quod profectum aliquem sperabat; because in such concourse of people, he hoped the Word of God would finde the better entertainment. Any thing rather to be thought, then that Saint *Paul* who had withstood so stoutly those false Apostles, who would have circumcision and the law observed; when there was nothing publickly determined of it: would after the decision of so great a Councell, wherein the Law of *Moses* was for ever abrogated, either himselfe observe the Sabbath, for the Sabbaths sake; or by his owne example teach the Gentiles how to Judaize, which he so blamed in Saint *Peter*. The Sabbath, with the legall ceremonies, did receive their doome, as they related to the Gentiles, in that great

great Councell holden in Hierusalem: which though it was not untill after he had preached at Antiochia; on the Sabbath day; yet was it certainly before he had done the like, either at Philippos, Thessalonica, or at Corinth.

(8) For the occasion of that Councell, it was briefly this, Amongst those which had joyned themselves with the Apostles, there was one Cerinthus; a fellow of a turbulent and unquiet spirit, and a most eager enemy of all those counsels, whereof himselfe was not the Authour. This man had first begun a faction against S. Peter, for going to Cornelius; and preaching life eternall unto the Gentiles; and finding ill successe in that, goes downe to Antiochia, and there begins another against Saint Paul. This Epiphanius tels us of him, *ὅτι δε εἶναι αὐτὸν τὸν ἐν τῇ Ἀντιόχειᾳ, ὁ πρὸς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐργασάμενον &c. καὶ ὅτι εἰς ἐστὶ τῶν ἀντιστάτων πρὸς τὸν ἁγίον Πέτρον ἐπειδὴ εἰσήλθε πρὸς Κορνήλιον τὸν ἄγιον.* The like Philaster doth affirme, *Seditionem sub Apostolis commovisse*, that he had raised a faction against the Apostles, which was not to be crushed but by an Apostolicall and generall Councell. This man and those that came downe with him, were so inamoured on the ceremonies and rites of Moses, that though they entertained the Gospel, yet they were loath to leave the Law: and therefore did resolve, it seemes, to make a mixture out of both. Hence taught they, that *except all men were circumcised after the manner of Moses, they could not be saved.* Where note, that though they spake onely of circumcision, yet they intended all the law: Sabbaths, and other legall ordinances, of what sort soever. *Docuit Cerinthus observantiam legis, Moisaica necessariam esse, circumcisionem, & Sabbata observanda*, as Philaster hath it. Cerinthus taught, saith he, that the observation of Moses law was necessary still; Sabbaths and Circumcision to be kept, as before they were. The like saith Calvin on the place. *Sola quidem circumcisio hic nominatur, sed ex contextu facile patet, eos de tota lege movisse controversiam:* though

Lib. 1. lib. 2. 2.2.

De heres. in Cerintho.

Act. 15. 1.

though Circumcision onely be here named, yet it is evident from the context, that the observing of the whole law was aimed at. The like *Lorinus* also amongst the Iesuites; *Nomine circumcisionis reliqua lex tota intelligitur.* Indeed the Text affirms as much, where it is saide in termes expresse, that they did hold it needfull to circumcise the people, and to command them to keepe the Law of Moses; whereof the Sabbath was a part For the decission of this point, and the appeasing of those controversies which did thence arise, it pleased the Church directed by the holy Ghost, to determine thus; that such amongst the Gentiles, as were converted to the faith, should not at all be burdened with the lawes of Moses; but onely should observe some necessary things, viz. that they abstaine from things offered unto idols, and from blood, and that which is strangled, and from fornication. And here it is to be observed, that the decree or Canon of this Councell, did onely reach unto the Gentiles: as is apparant out of the proeme to the Decretall, which is directed to the brethren which are of the Gentiles; and from the 21. Chapter of the Acts, where it is said, that as concerning the Gentiles which beleve, wee have written and determined, that they observe no such thing, as the law of Moses. So that for all that was determined in this Councell, those of the Iews which had embraced the faith of Christ, were not prohibited, as yet, to observe the Sabbath, and other parts of Moses law, as before they did: in which regard, S. Paul caused Timothy to be circumcised, because hee would not scandalize and offend the Iemes. The Iemes were very much affected to their antient ceremonies: and Calvin rightly hath affirmed, *Correctionem, ut difficilis erat, ita subitam esse non potuisse*, that a full reformation of that zeale of theirs, as it was full of difficulty, so could it not be done upon the sudden. Therefore it pleased the Apostles, as it is conceived, in their fourth Councell holden

Act. 15. 5.

vers. 29.

Act. 16. 3.

In Act. 21. 23.

Concil. Tom. 1.
Bin.

den at *Hierusalem*, mention whereof is made in the 21. of the *Acts*, to make it lawfull for the *Iewes* to retaine *circumcision*, and such legall rites, together with the faith in *Christ*. *Quamdiu templum & sacrificia legis in Hierusalem stabant*, as long as the *Iewish Temple*, and the legall sacrifices in *Hierusalem*, should continue standing. Not that the faith of *Christ* was not sufficient of it selfe, for their salvation: *Sed ut mater synagoga paulatim cum honore sepeliretur*, but that the *synagogue* might be layed to sleepe, with the greater honour. But this, if so it was, was for no long time. For whereas the third Councell holden in *Hierusalem*, against *Cerintus* and his party, was held in Anno 51. and this which now we speake of, Anno 58. the finall ruine of the Temple was in 72. So that there was but one and twenty yeares, in the largest reckoning, wherein the *Christian Iewes* were suffered to observe their *Sabbath*: and yet not (as before they did) as if it were a necessary duty; but as a thing indifferent onely. But that time come, the Temple finally destroyed, and the legall ceremonies therein buried: it was accounted afterwards both dangerous and hereticall, to observe the *Sabbath*; or mingle any of the *Iewish leaven*, with the bread of life. *S. Hierome* roundly so proclaimes it, *Ceremonias Iudeorum & perniciosas & pestiferas esse Christianis*: that all the Ceremonies of the *Iewes*, (wherof before he named the *Sabbath* to be one,) were dangerous, yea and deadly too, to a *Christian* man; *Sive ex Iudaeis esset, sive ex Gentibus*, whether he were originally of the *Iewes*, or *Gentiles*. To which *S. Austin* gives allowance, *Ego hanc vocem tuam omnino confirmo*, in his reply unto *S. Hierome*. That it was also deemed hereticall, to celebrate a *Sabbath* in the *Christian Church*, we shall see hereafter.

Epl. ad Aug.

(9) In the meane time, we must proceed in search of the *Lords day*, and of the duties then performed: whereof we can finde nothing yet, by that name at least. The Scripture

Scripture tels us somewhat, that *S. Paul* did at *Troas*, upon the first day of the weeke: which happening much about this time, comes in this place to be considered. The passage in the Text stands thus: *Vpon the first day of the weeke when the disciples came together to breake bread*, *Act. 20. 7.* *Paul preached unto them ready to depart on the morrow, and continued his speech untill midnight.* Take notice here, that *S. Paul* had tarried there, seven dayes, before this happened. Now in this Text there are two things to be considered; first what was done upon that day; and secondly what day it was, which is there remembered. First for the action, it is said to be *breaking of bread*: which some conclude, to be *administring the Sacrament of the Lords Supper*; and *Pauls* discourse which followed on it, to be a Sermon. But sure I am *Saint Chrysostome* tels us plainly otherwise: who relates it thus, *ἡ ἀποσκευὴν αὐτοῦ εἰς διδασκαλίαν*, *αὐ καὶ ᾤκειν*, &c. Their meeting at that time, saith he, was not especially to receive instruction from *Saint Paul*, but to *eate bread* with him, and there, upon occasion given, he discoursed unto them. See, saith the Father, how they all made bold with *Saint Pauls* table, as it had beene common to them all: and as it seemes to me, saith he, *Saint Paul* sitting at the table did discourse thus with them. Therefore it seemes by him, that as the meeting was at an ordinary supper; so the discourse there happening was no Sermon properly, but an occasionall dispute. *Lyra* affirms the same, and doth glosse it thus. *They came together to breake bread*, i.e. saith he, *Pro refectiōe corporali*, for the refection and support of their bodies onely: and being there, *Paul* preached unto them, or as the Greeke and Latine have it, hee disputed with them; *prius eos reficiens pane verbi divini*, refreshing of them first with the bread of life. This also seemes to be the meaning of the Church of England, who in the margin of the Bible, allowed by Canon, doth for the understanding of this place, referre us unto the

Canon Sec.

In A.B. 2.

In Decem.

Hov. 131.

the second of the *Acts*, vers. 46. where it is said of the disciples, that they did breake their bread from house to house, and ate their meate together with joy and singlenesse of heart: which plainly must bee meant of ordinary and common meats. *Calvin* not onely so affirms it, but censures those who take it for the holy Supper. *Nam quod hic fractionem panis nonnulli interpretantur sacram cœnam, alienum mihi videtur à mente Luca, &c.*: that some interpret the breaking of bread here mentioned, to bee the holy Supper: seemes unto me (saith he) to bee repugnant to *S. Lukes* meaning in that place, as he there discourseth. Then for the time, our *English* reades it upon the first day of the weeke, agreeable unto the exposition of most ancient Writers, and the vulgar *Latin*; which here, as in the foure *Evangelists*, doth call the first day of the weeke *una Sabbati*. Yet since the *Greeke* phrase is not so perspicuous, but that it may admit of a various exposition, *Erasmus* renders it, by *uno die sabbatorum, & quodam die sabbatorum*; that is, upon a certaine Sabbath: and so doth *Calvin* too, and *Pellican*, and *Gualter*, all of them noted men, in their translations of that Text. Nor do they onely so translate it, but frame their expositions also to their translation; and make the day there mentioned, to bee the Sabbath. *Calvin* takes notice of both readings, *Vel proximum Sabbato diem intelligit, vel unum quodpiam Sabbatum*; either (saith he) *S. Luke* here meaneth the day next to the Sabbath, or else some Sabbath day it selfe. For his part: he approves the last, *Quod dies ille ad habendum conventum aptior fuerit*, because the Sabbath day was then most fit, for the assemblies of the people. *Gualter* doth so conceive it also, that they assembled at this time on the Sabbath day, *Qui propter veterem morem hand dubie tunc temporis celebrior habebatur*, as that which questionlesse, was then, of most repute, and name amongst them. So that the matter is not cleare, as unto the day, if they may judge it. But take it for the first day of the weeke, as the *English*

English reades it: yet doth *S. Austin* put a scruple, which may perhaps disturbe the whole expectation; though otherwise hee be of opinion, that the breaking of the bread there mentioned, might have some reference or resemblance to the Lords Supper. Now this is that which *S. Austin* tels us. *Aut post peractum diem Sabbati, noctis initio fuerunt congregati, qua utique nox ad diem Dominicum, h. e. ad unam Sabbati pertinebat, &c.* Either, saith he, they were assembled on the beginning of the night, which did immediately follow the Sabbath day, and was to be accounted as a part of the Lords day, or first day of the weeke; and breaking bread that night, as it is broken in the Sacrament of the Lords body, continued his discourse till midnight, *Vt lucente proficisceretur Dominico die*, that so he might begin his journey, with the first dawning of the Lords day, which was then at hand. Or if they did not meete till the day it selfe, since it is there expressed, that he preached unto them, being to depart upon the morrow; we have the reason why he continued his discourse so long: viz. because hee was to leave them, *Et eos sufficienter instruere cupiebat*, and he desired to lesson them sufficiently, before hee left them. So farre *S. Austin*. Chuse which of these you will, and there will bee but little found for sanctifying the Lords day, by *Saint Paul*, at *Troas*. For if this meeting were upon Saturday night; then made *Saint Paul* no scruple of travailling upon the Sunday: or if it were on the Sunday, and that the breaking bread there mentioned were the celebration of the Sacrament, (which yet *Saint Augustine* saith not in termes expresse, but with a *sicut*) yet neither that, nor the discourse or sermon which was joyned unto it, were otherwise then occasionall onely, by reason of *Saint Pauls* departure on the morrow after. Therefore no Sabbath, or established day of publike meeting, to be hence collected.

(10.) This action of *Saint Paul*, at *Troas*, is placed by our

C. 16. v. 7.

AG. 11, 23, 29

our *Cronologers* in Anno 57. of our Saviours birth; and that yeare also did he write his first Epistle to the *Corinthians*: wherein amongst many other things, hee gives them this direction, touching *collections* for the poorer brethren at *Hierusalem*. Concerning the gathering for the *Saints*, saith he, as I have ordained in the Churches of *Galatia*; so doe ye also. And how was that? Every first day of the weeke, let every one of you set aside, by himselfe, and lay up as God hath prospered him, that there be no gatherings when I come. This some have made a principall argument, to prove the institution of the *Lords day* to be by *Apostolical* precept; and *Apostolical* though we should grant it, yet certainly it never can be proved so, from this Text of *Scripture*. For what hath this to doe with a *Lords day* duties? or how may it appeare from hence, that the *Lords day* was ordered by the *Apostles* to be weekly celebrated, instead of the now antiquated *Iewish Sabbath*? being an intimation onely of Saint *Pauls* desire, to the particular Churches of the *Galathians* and *Corinthians*, what hee would have them doe in a particular and present case. *Agabus* had signified by the Spirit, that there should be a great dearth over all the world: and thereupon the *Antiochians* purposed to send reliefe, unto the brethren which dwelt in *Judea*. It is not to be thought that they made this collection, on the *Sunday* onely; but sent their common bounties to them, when and as often as they pleased. *Collections* for the poore, in themselves considered, are no *Lords day* duties; no duties proper to the day; and therefore are not here appointed to be made in the congregation, but every man is ordered to lay up somewhat by himselfe, as it were in store; that when it came to a full round summe, it might be sent away unto *Hierusalem*. This being but a particular case, and such a case as was to end with the occasion; can be no generall rule for a perpetuity. For might it not fall out, in time, that there might be no poore; nay no *Saints* at all, in all *Hierusalem*; as when the Towne

Towne was razed by *Adrian*, or after peopled by the *Saracens*? Surely if not before, yet then this duty was to cease, and no collection to be made by those of *Corinth*: and consequently no *Lords day* to be kept amongst them, because no collection, in case collections for the *Saints*, as some doe gather from this place, were a sufficient argument to prove the *Lords day* instituted by divine authority. But let us take the Text with such observations, as have beene made upon it by the *Fathers*. Upon the first day of the weeke, i. e. as generally they conceive it, on the *Lords day*. And why on that? *Chrysostome* gives this reason of it, that so the very day might prompt them to be bountifull to their poore brethren, as being that day whereon they had received such inestimable bounties at the hands of God; in the resurrection of our Saviour. Τα γὰρ ἀπορίησα ἀγαθά, καὶ ἡ πίστις καὶ ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς ζωῆς τῆς ἡμετέρας, ταύτην ἔχοντες: as the Father hath it. What to be done upon that day? *Vnusquisque apud se reponat*, Let let every man lay by himself, saith the Apostle, ὁ καθ' ἑαυτόν, eis τὴν ἐκκλησίαν φέρειν. Hee saith not, saith S. *Chrysostome*, let every man bring it to the Church: And why? ἵνα οὐκ ἐκ τῆς μικροῦς ἀκριβοῦνται; for feare lest some might be ashamed at the smallnesse of their offering: but let them lay it by, saith he, and adde unto it weeke, by weeke, that at my comming it may grow to a fit proportion. That there be no gathering when I come, but that the money may be ready to be sent away, immediately upon my comming: and being thus raised up by little and little, they might not be so sensible thereof, as if upon his comming to them, it were to be collected all at once, and upon the sudden. *Vt paulatim reservantes non una hora gravari se putent*, as Saint *Hierome* hath it. Now as it is most cleare, that this makes nothing for the *Lords day*, or the translation of the *Sabbath* thereunto, by any *Apostolical* precept: so it is not so cleare, that this was done upon the first day of the weeke, but that

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cap. 8. n. 33.

some learned men have made doubt thereof. Calvin upon the place, takes notice how S. Chrysostome expounds the *πρῶτον σαββατον* of the Apostle, by *primo sabbati*, the first day of the weeke, as the English reads it: but likes it not, *Cui ego non assentior*, as his phrase is; conceiving rather this to be the meaning of S. Paul, that on some Sabbath day or other, untill his comming every man should lay up somewhat towards the collection. And in the second of his Institutes, he affirms expressly; that the day destinate by Saint Paul to these Collections, was the Sabbath day. The like doe Victorinus Strigelius, Hunnius, and Aretius. Protestant Writers all, note upon the place. *Singulis sabbatis*, saith Strigelius; *per singula sabbata*; so Aretius; *diebus sabbatorum*, saith Egidius Hunnius: all rendring *πρῶτον σαββατον*, on the Sabbath dayes. More largely yet, Hemingius, who in his Comment on the place, takes it indefinitely for any day in the weeke, so they fixed on one. *Vult enim ut quilibet certum diem, in septimana, constituat, in quo apud se seponat, quod irrogaturus est in pauperes*. It was the meaning of S. Paul, saith he, that every one should resolve of some day constantly in every weeke; in which to lay aside, by himselfe at home, what he intended to bestow among the poore. Take which you will, either the Fathers, or the Moderns, and we shall finde no Lords Day instituted by any Apostolicall Mandate; no Sabbath set on foote by them upon the first day of the weeke, as some would have it: much lesse that any such Ordinance should bee hence collected, out of these words of the Apostle.

(11) Indeed it is not probable, that hee who so opposed himselfe against the old Sabbath, would erect a new. This had not beene to abrogate the ceremony, but to change the day: whereas he laboured, what he could, to beate downe all the difference of dayes and times, which had beene formerly observed. In his Epistle to the Galathians, written in Anno 59, he layes it home unto

unto their charge, that they observed dayes, and months, and times, and yeares; and seemes a little to bewaile his owne misfortune, as if he had bestowed his labour in vaine, amongst them. I know it is conceived by some, that Saint Paul spake it of the observation of those dayes and times, which had beene used among the Gentiles; and so had no relation to the Jewish Sabbath, or any difference of times observed amongst them. Saint Ambrose so conceived it, and so did Saint Augustine. *Dies observant, qui dicunt crastino non est proficiscendum; &c.* They observe dayes, who say, I will not goe abroad to morrow, or begin any worke upon such a day, because of some unfortunate aspect, as Saint Ambrose hath it. From him it seemes, S. Augustine learnt it, who in his 119 Epistle directly falls upon the very same expression. *Eos inculpant qui dicunt, non proficiscor quia posterus dies est, aut quia luna sic fertur; vel proficiscar ut prospere cedat, quia ita se habet positio syderum, &c.* He reprehends those men who say, I will not goe abroad because it is an unluckie day, and the moone is in such a signe: or I will goe abroad this day for good luckes sake, because the starres are in a fortunate aspect. The like conceit he hath in his *Enchiridion*, ad Laurentium, cap. 79. But whatsoever Saint Ambrose did, Saint Augustine lived I am sure to correct his error: observing very rightly that his former doctrine could not consist with Saint Pauls purpose in that place, which was to beate downe that esteeme which the Jewes had amongst them of the Mosaicall Ordinances, their New-moones and Sabbaths. I shall report the place at large for the better clearing of the point. *Vulgatissimus est Gentilium error, ut vel in agendis rebus, vel expectandis eventibus vita ac negotiorum suorum ab Astrologis & Chaldaeis notatos dies observent.* It is, saith hee, a common error of the Gentiles, that in the undertaking of any businesse, or in expecting the event of their undertakings, they take

cap. 8. n. 33.

coloss. 2. 16.

“especiall notice of those dayes, which their *Astrologers* have noted for good or evill. This was the ground whereon he built his former error. Then followeth the correction of it, *Fortasse tamen non opus est ut hac de Gentilium errore intelligamus, ne intentionem causa* (marke that) *quam ab exordio susceptam ad finem usque perducit, subito in aliud temere detorquere velle videamur; sed de his potius de quibus cavendis cum agere per totam Epistolam apparet. Nam & Iudæi serviliter observant dies & menses & annos & tempora, in carnali observatione Sabbati, & neomenia, &c.* But yet perhaps; saith hee, it is “not necessary that wee should understand this of “the *Gentiles*, lest so wee vary from the scope and “purpose of the *Apostle*; but rather of those men, of “the avoyding of whose doctrines, hee seemes to “treate in all this Epistle, which were the *Jewes*; “who in their carnall keeping of *New-moones* and *Sabbaths*, did observe dayes and yeares, and times, as hee here objecteth. Compare this with Saint *Hieromes* preface to the *Galathians*, and then the matter will bee cleere; that Saint *Paul* meant not this of any *Heathenish*, but of the *Jewish* observation of dayes and times. So in the Epistle to the *Colossians*, writ in the sixtieth yeare after *Christs* Nativity, hee layes it positively downe, that the *Sabbath* was now abrogated with the other ceremonies; which were to vanish at *Christs* comming. Let no man judge you, saith the *Apostle*, in meate and drinke, or in respect of an holy, or of the *New-moone*, or of the *Sabbath* dayes, which are a shadow of things to come; but the body is of *Christ*. In which the *Sabbath* is well matched with meates and drinkers, *new-moones* and *holy-dayes*, which were all temporary ordinances, and to goe off the stage at our Saviours Exit. Now whereas some, that would be thought great sticklers for the *Sabbath*, conceive that this was spoken, not of the *weekly morall Sabbath*, as they call it, which must be perpetuall;

petuall; but of the *annuall ceremoniall Sabbaths*, which they acknowledge to be abrogated: this new devise directly crosseth the whole current of the ancient Fathers who doe apply this Text to the *weekly Sabbath*. It is sufficient in this point, to note the places. The Reader may peruse them, as his leisure is, and looke on *Epiphan. l. 1. heres. 33. n. 11.* *Ambrose* upon this place. *Hierome* Epistle ad *Algas. qu. 10.* *Chrysost. hom. 13. in Hebr. 7.* *August. cont. Iudaos cap. 1.* & *cont. Faust. Manich. l. 16. c. 28.* I end this list with that of *Hierome*, *Nullus Apostoli sermo est lat* *Apocal. 10* *vel per Epistolam, vel presentis, in quo non laboret docere antiquæ legis onera deposita, & omnia illa quæ in typis & imaginibus præcessere, i. e. otium Sabbati, circumcisionis injuriam, Kalendarum, & trium per annum solennitatum recursus, &c. gratia Evangelii subrepente, cessasse.* There “is, saith he, no Sermon of the *Apostles*, either delivered “by Epistle, or by word of mouth, wherein he labours “not to prove, that all the burdens of the Law, are now “laid away; that all those things which were before “in types and figures, namely, the *Sabbath*, *Circumcision*, the *New-moones*, and the *three solemne Festivals*, “did cease upon the preaching of the *Gospel*.

(12) And cease it did upon the preaching of the *Gospel*; insensibly and by degrees; as before we said: not being afterwards observed, as it had beene formerly, or counted any necessary part of Gods publicke worship. Onely some use was made thereof, for the enlargement of Gods Church; by reason that the people had bin accustomed to meet together on that day, for the performance of religious, and spirituall duties. This made it more regarded then it would have been, especially in the *Easterne* parts of *Greece* and *Asia*, where the *Provinciall Jewes* were somewhat thick dispersed: and being a great accession to the *Gospel*, could not so suddenly forsake their ancient customes. Yet so, that the *first day of the week*, began to grow into some credit, towards the ending

ding of this Age: especially after the finall desolation of *Hierusalem* and the *Temple*, which hapned *Anno 72* of *Christs* Nativity. So that the religious obfervation of this day beginning in the Age of the Apostles, no doubt but with their approbation and authority, and since continuing in the same respect for so many Ages; may be very well accounted amongst those *Apostolicall traditions*, which have beene univerfally received in the Church of God. For being it was the day which our Redeemer honoured with his *refurrection*, it easily might attaine unto that esteeme, as to be honoured by the *Christians*, with their *publicke meetings*: that so they might with greater comfort preserve and cherish the memorial of so great a mercie; in reference unto which the Worlds Creation seemed not so considerable. By reason of which worke wrought on it, it came, in time to bee entituled, *κατ' ἐξοχὴν*, the *Lords day*: which attribute is first found in the *Revelation*, writ by Saint *Iohn*, about the 94 yeare of our Saviours birth. So long it was before wee finde the Church tooke notice of it by a proper name. For I perswade my selfe, that had that day beene destinate, at that time, to religious duties; or honoured with the name of the *Lords day*, when *Paul* preached at *Troas*, or wrote to the *Corinthians*, which as before wee shewed was in 57. neither Saint *Luke*, nor the Apostle had so passed it over, and called it onely the *first day of the weeke*, as they both have done. And when it had this attribute affixed unto it, it onely was *κατ' ἐξοχὴν*, as before we said; by reason, of our Saviours *refurrection* performed upon it: and not exclusively of all other dayes, as if all other dayes were not the *Lords* as well as this; or that the Congregation might not be assembled, as well on them, as on the other. For first it was not called the *Lords Day* exclusively, but by way of eminencie, in reference to the *refurrection* onely: all other dayes being the *Lords*, as well as this. *Prima sub-*

Apocal. 10.

18 P/al. 23.

bat

bati significat diem Dominicam, quo Dominus resurrexit, & resurgendo isti seculo subvenit, mundumque ipso die creavit, qui ob excellentiam tanti miraculi propriè dies Dominica appellatur, i. e. dies Domini; quamvis omnes sunt Domini. So *Bruno Herbigolensis* hath resolved it. The first day of the weeke, saith he, doth signifie the *Lords day*, on the which he rose; and by so rising brought great comfort to this worlds, which on that day he had created: which day by reason of the excellencie of so great a miracle, we call the *Lords day*; though indeed all daies be the *Lords*. And next, it was not so designed for the publicke meetings of the Church, as if they might not bee assembled, as well on every day, as this. For as Saint *Hierome* hath determined, *omnes dies aequales sunt, nec per parasceven tantum Christum crucifigi, & die Dominica resurgere, sed semper sanctum resurrectionis esse diem, & semper eum carne vefci Dominica, &c.* All dayes, are equall in themselves; as the Father tells us. *Christ* was not crucified on the *Friday* onely, nor did hee rise onely upon the *Lords day*: but that we may make every day, the holy-day of his *refurrection*; and every day eate his blessed body, in the Sacrament. When therefore certaine dayes were publickly assigned by Godly men, for the assemblies of the Church, this was done onely for their sakes, *qui magis seculo vacant quam Deo*, who had more minde unto the World, then to him that made it, and therefore either could not; or rather would not, every day assemble in the Church of God. Vpon which ground, as they, those godly men whom S. *Hierome* speakes of, made choice of this, (even in the Age of the Apostles) for one, because our Saviour rose that day, from amongst the dead: so chose they *Friday* for another, by reason of our Saviours passion; and *Wednesday*, on the which he had beene betrayed: the *Saturday*, or ancient *Sabbath*, being meane-while retained in the *Easterne Churches*. Nay, in the primitive times, excepting

1a Gal. 4.

ting in the heat of persecution, they met together every day, for the receiving of the *Sacrament*: that being fortified with that *viaticum*, they might with greater courage encounter death, if they chanced to meete him. So that the greatest honour, which, in this Age, was given the *first day of the weeke*, or *Sunday*, is that about the close thereof, they did begin to honour it with the name and title of the *Lords Day*; and made it one of those set dayes, whereon the people met together for religious exercises. Which their religious exercises when they were performed, or if the times were such that their assemblies were prohibited, and so none were performed at all: it was not held unlawfull to apply themselves unto their ordinary labours; as we shall see anon in the following Ages. For whereas some have gathered from this Text of the *Revelation*, from *S. Iohns being in the spirit on the Lords Day*, as the phrase there is; that the *Lords Day* is wholly to be spent in *spirituall exercises*: that their conceit might probably have had some shew of likelihood, had it been said by the *Apostle*, that he had *beene in the spirit every Lords Day*. But being, as it is, a particular case, it can make no rule; unlesse it be, that everyman on the *Lords Day*, should have *dreames* and *visions*, and be inspired that day, with the *spirit of prophecy*: no more than if it had beene told us, upon what day *S. Paul* had been *rapt up into the third heaven*; every man should upon that day, expect the like *celestiall raptures*. Adde here, how it is thought by some, that the *Lords Day* here mentioned, is not be interpreted of the *first day of the weeke*, as we use to take it; but of the *day of his last coming*, of the *day of judgement*, wherein all flesh shall come together to receive their sentence: which being called the *Lords day* too, in holy Scripture (that *so the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord*, 1 Cor. 5.5.) *S. Iohn* might see it, being *rapt in spirit*, as if come already. But touching this wee will not meddle; let them that owne it, looke unto it: the rather since

Gomarus de
Sabbat. c. 6.

since *S. Iohn* hath generally beene expounded in the other sence, by *Aretas* and *Andreas Casariensis* upon the place, by *Bede de rat. temp. c. 6.* and by the suffrage of the *Church* the best expositor of Gods Word; wherein this day, hath constantly since the time of that *Apostle*, beene honoured with that name, above other dayes. Which day, how it was afterwards observed, and how farre different it was thought from a *Sabbath day*; the prosecution of this story will make cleare and evident.

CHAB

CHAP. II.

In what estate the Lords day stood, from the death of the Apostles to the reigne of Constantine.

(1) Touching the orders settled by the Apostles, for the Congregation. (2) The Lords day and the Saturday, both festivals, and both observed in the East, in Ignatius time. (3) The Saturday not without great difficulty, made a fasting day. (4) The Controversie about keeping Easter; and how much it conduceth to the present business. (5) The feast of Easter not affixed to the Lords day, without much opposition of the Easterne Churches. (6) What Iustin Martyr; and Dionysius of Corinth, have left us of the Lords day; Clemens of Alexandria, his dislike thereof. (7) Upon what grounds, the Christians of the former times, used to pray, standing, on the Lords day, and the time of Pentecost. (8) What is recorded by Tertullian, of the Lords day; and the assemblies of the Church. (9) Origen, as his master Clemens had done before, dislikes set dayes for the assemblie. (10) S. Cyprian what he tells us of the Lords day: and of the reading of the Scriptures in S. Cyprians time. (11) Of other holy dayes, established in these three first ages; and that they were observed as solemnly, as the Lords day was. (12) The name of Sunday often used for the Lords day, by the primitive Christians; but the Sabbath never.

(1)



EE shewed you in the former Chapter, whatever doth occur in the Acts and Monuments of the Apostles, touching the Lords day, and the Sabbath: how that the one of them was abrogated, as a part of the Law of Moses; the other rising by degrees from the

the ruines of it, not by authority divine, for ought appeares, but by authority of the Church. As for the duties of that day, they were most likely such, as formerly had beene used in the Jewish Synagogues: reading the Law and Prophets openly, to the Congregation; and afterwards expounding part thereof, as occasion was; calling upon the Lord their God, for the continuance of his mercies; and singing Psalmes and Hymnes unto him, as by way of thankfulness. These the Apostles found in the Jewish Church, and well approving of the same, as they could not otherwise; commended them unto the care of the disciples; by them to be observed, as often as they met together, on what day soever. First for the reading of the law, Origen saith expressly that it was ordered ^{In 10th hom. 15} so by the Apostles; *Iudaicarum historiarum libri traditi sunt ab Apostolis legendi in Ecclesiis*, as he there informes us. To this was joyned in tract of time, the reading of the holy Gospell, and other Evangelicall writings: it being ordered by S. Peter, that S. Marks Gospell should be read in the Congregation, as Eusebius tells us: and by S. ^{Hist. l. 2. 25.} Paul, that his Epistle to the Thessalonians should be read unto all the holy brethren; and also, that to the Colossians, ^{1 Thes. c. ult. ver. 17.} to be read in the Churches of the Laodiceans: as that from Laodicea, in the Church of the Colossians. By which example not onely all the writings of the Apostles, but many of the writings of Apostolicall men, were publickly read unto the people: and for that purpose one appointed to exercise the ministerie of a Reader, in the congregation. So antient is the reading of the Scriptures in the Church of God. To this by way of Comment or application, was added as we finde by S. Pauls directions, the use of prophetic or preaching, interpretation of the Scriptures, to edifying, and to exhortation, and to comfort: this ^{1 Cor 14. v. 3} exercise to be performed with the head uncovered; as well the Preacher, as the hearer. Every man praying or prophesying with his head covered, dishonoureth his head, as the ^{1 Cor. 11. 4.} Apostle

1 Tim. 2.

1 Cor. 14. 26.

Hist. l. 6. c. 8.

Apostle hath informed us. Where wee have *publicke prayers* also for the Congregation: the *Priest* to offer to the Lord, the *prayers* and supplications of the people; and they to say *Amen* unto those prayers, which the *Priest* made for them. These to containe in them all things necessarie for the Church of God, which are the subject of all *supplications, prayers, intercessions, and giving of thanks*; and to extend to all men also, especially unto *Kings* and such as be in *authority*, that under them we may be *godly* and quietly governed, *leading a peaceable life in all godlinesse and honesty*. For the performance of which last duties, with the greater comfort, it was disposed that *Psalmes* and *Hymnes* should bee intermingled with the rest of the publicke service: which comprehending whatsoever is most excellent in the book of God, and being as so many notable formes of praise and prayer, were cheerfully and unanimously to bee sung amongst them. And thereupon *S. Paul* reprehended those of *Corinth*, in that they joyned not with the assembly, but had their *psalmes* unto themselves. Whereby it seemes that they had left the true use of *psalmes*, which being so many acclamations, exultations, and holy provocations, to give God the glory; were to be sung together by the whole assembly; their singing at that time, being little more, than a melodious kinde of pronuntiation, such as is commonly now used in singing of the ordinarie psalmes and prayers, in Cathedrall Churches. And so it stood, till in the entrance of this age, *Ignatius* Bishop of *Antiochia*, one who was conversant with the *Apostles*, brought in the use of singing *alternatim*, course by course, according as it still continues in our publicke Quires, where one side answers to another: some shew whereof is left in *Parochiall Churches*; in which the Minister and the people answer one another, in their severall turnes. To him doth *Socrates* referre it, and withall affirms that he first learn't it of the *Angels*, whom in a vision he had heard to sing the praise

of

of God, after such a manner: *ἡ ὑπασίαν ἴδεν ἀγγέλων, διὰ τῶν ἀντιφώνων ὅμων τῶν ἀδελφῶν τοῦ αὐτοῦ.* as that Author hath it. And where *Theodoret* doth referre it to *Flavianus*, and *Diodorus*. Priests of *Antiochia*, during the bustlings of the *Arian* Hereticks; and *Platina* unto *Damasus* Pope of *Rome*: *Theodoret* is to be interpreted of the restitution of this custome, having beene left off; and *Platina* of the bringing of it into the *Westerne Churches*. For that it was in use in *Ignatius* time, (who suffered in the time of *Trajan*) and therefore probably began by him, as is said by *Socrates*; is evident by that which *Plinie* signified to the selfesame *Trajan*; where hee informes him of the *Christians*, *Quod soliti essent stato die, ante lucem convenire, carmenque Christo, tanquam Deo, dicere, se cum invicem, &c.* Their greatest crime sayd he, was "this, that at a certaine day, (but what that day was that he tells not) they did meete together before day-light; and there sing hymmes to *Christ* as unto a God, one with another in their courses: and after binde themselves together by a common *Sacrament*, not unto any wicked or unjust attempt; but to live orderly without committing robbery, theft, adultery, or the like offences.

(2) Now for the day there meant by *Plinie*, it must be *Saturday* or *Sunday*, if it were not both: both of them being in those time, and in those parts where *Plinie* lived, in especiall honour; as may be gathered from *Ignatius* who at that time flourished. For demonstration of the which, we must first take notice, how that the world as then, was very full of dangerous fancies, and hereticall dorages: whereby the Church was much disquieted, and Gods worship hindred. The *Ebionites*, they stood hard for the *Jewish Sabbath*, and would by all meanes have it celebrated, as it had beene formerly: observing yet the *Lords day*, as the *Christians* did, in honour of the resurrection of our Lord and Saviour. Κατὰ τὴν οὐδέκατον,

Epl. 86.

Concil. Tom. 1.

(3) And so it was observed in the *Easterne* parts, where those of the *dispersion* had tooke up their seats; and having long time had their meetings on the *Sabbath* day, could not so easily bee perswaded from it. But in the *Westerne Churches*, in the which the *Jemes* were not so considerable, and where those heretickes before remembered, had beene hardly heard of, it was plainly otherwise: that day not onely not being honoured with their publicke meetings, but destinate to a settled or a constant fast. Some which have looked more nearely into the reasons of this difference, conceive that they appointed this day for fasting in memory of Saint *Peters* conflict with *Simon Magus*: which being to be done on a *Sunday* following, the *Church of Rome* ordained a solemne fast on the day before, the better to obtaine Gods blessing in so great a businesse: which falling out as they desired, they kept it for a fasting day for ever after. Saint *Austine* so relates it, as a generall and received opinion, but then hee addes, *Quod eam esse falsam perhibeant plerique Romani*; That very many of the *Romans* did take it onely for a fable. As for Saint *Austine*, he conceives the reason of it, to be the severall uses which men made of our Saviours resting in the grave, the whole *Sabbath* day. For thence it came to passe, saith he, that some, especially the *Easterne* people, *Ad requiem significandam mallent relaxare jejunium*, to signifie and denote that rest, did not use to fast: whereon the other side, those of the *Church of Rome* and some *Westerne Churches*, kept it alwayes fasting, *Propter humilitatem mortis Domini*, by reason that our Lord, that day, lay buried in the sleepe of death. But as the Father comes not home unto the reason of this usage, in the *Easterne* countries; so in my minde Pope *Innocent* gives a likelier reason for the contrary custome, in the *Westerne*. For in a *Decretall* by him made, touching the keeping of this fast, he gives this reason of it unto *Decentius Eugubinus*, who desired it of him, because that day and the day before

before, were spent by the *Apostles* in griefe and heavinesse. *Nam constat Apostolos biduo isto & in mœrore fuisse, & propter metum Iudeorum se occultasse*, as his words there are. The like saith *Platina* that *Innocentius* did ordaine the *Saturday* or *Sabbath* to be alwayes fasted, *Quod tali die Christus in sepulchro jacuisset, & quod discipuli ejus jejunassent*; Because our Saviour lay in the grave that day, and it was fasted by his disciples. Not that it was not fasted before *Innocent's* time, as some vainely thinke: but that being formerly an arbitrary practice onely, it was by him intended for a binding Law. Now as the *African* and the *Westerne Churches* were severally devoted either to the *Church of Rome*, or other Churches in the *East*: so did they follow in this matter, of the *Sabbaths* fast; the practice of those parts, to which they did most adhere. *Millaine* though neere to *Rome*, followed the practice of the *East*: which shewes how little power the *Popes* then had, even within *Italy* it selfe. *Paulinus* tels us also of *S. Ambrose*, that he did never use to dine, *nisi die Sabbati & Dominici, &c.* but on the *Sabbath*, the *Lords* day, and on the Anniversaries of the *Saints* and *Martyrs*. Yet so, that when he was at *Rome*, hee used to doe as they there did; submitting to the orders of the *Church*, in the which hee was. Whence that so celebrated speech of his, *Cum hic sum, non jejuno Sabbato: cum Roma sum jejuno Sabbato*: at *Rome* he did: at *Millaine* he did not fast the *Sabbath*. Nay, which is more, Saint *Augustine* tels us, that many times in *Africa*, one and the selfe Church, at least the severall Churches in the self-same Province; had some that dined upon the *Sabbath*, and some that fasted. And in this difference it stood a long time together, till in the end the *Romane Church* obtained the cause; and *Saturday* became a fast, almost through all the parts of the *Western* world. I say the *Westerne* world, and of that alone: The *Easterne Churches* being so farre from altering their ancient custome; that in the sixt Councell of *Constantinople*, Anno

in Innocent.

in vita Ambr.

Epist. 86.

692, they did admonish those of Rome to forbear fasting on that day, upon paine of censures. Which I have noted here, in its proper place, that we might know the better how the matter stood, betweene the *Lords day*, and the *Sabbath*; how hard a thing it was for one to get the mastery of the other: both dayes being in themselves indifferent for sacred uses; and holding by no other tenure, then by the courtesie of the Church.

(4) Much of this kinde was that great conflict betweene the *East* and *Westerne* Churches, about keeping *Easter*: and much alike conduced, as it was maintained, unto the honour of the *Lords day*, or neglect thereof. The *Passeover* of the *Iewes*, was changed in the *Apostles* times, to the Feast of *Easter*; the anniversary memorial of our Saviours resurrection: and not changed onely in their times, but by their authority. Certaine it is that they observed it, for *Policarpus* kept it, *ἡ ἑορτή τοῦ κυρίου καὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως*, both with Saint *Iohn*, and with the rest of the *Apostles*, as *Irenæus* tells us in *Eusebius* History. The like *Policrates* affirms of Saint *Philip* also; whereof see *Euseb.* l. 5. c. 14. Nor was the difference which arose in the times succeeding, about the Festivall it selfe; but for the time, wherein it was to be observed. The *Easterne* Churches, following the custome of *Hierusalem*, kept it directly at the same time, the *Iewes* did their *Passeover*: and at *Hierusalem* they so kept it (the Bishops there for fiftene severall successions, being of the *Circumcision*;) the better to content the *Iewes* their brethren, and to winne upon them. But in the Churches of the *West*, they did not celebrate this Feast *decima quarta luna*, upon what day soever it was, as the others did; but on some *Sunday* following after: partly in honour of the day, and partly to expresse some difference, betweene *Iewes* and *Christians*. A thing of great importance in the present case. For if the *Christians* of the *East*, reflected not upon the *Sunday*, in the Annuall returne of so great a Feast; but kept it on the

Lib. 5. c. 26.

the fourteenth day of the moneth, be it what it will: it may be very strongly gathered, that they regarded not the *Lords day* so highly, which was the weekly memory of the resurrection; as to preferre that day before any other, in their publicke meetings. And thereupon *Baronius* pleads it very well, that certainly Saint *Iohn* was not the Authour of the contrary practice, as some gave it out. "*Nam quam potuit esseratio, &c.*" For what, saith hee, "might be the reason, why in the *Revelation*, he should "make mention of the *Lords day*, as a day of note, and "of good credit in the Church, had it not got that name "in reference to the resurrection. And if it were thought "fit by the *Apostles*, to celebrate the weekly memory "thereof, upon the *Sunday*: then to what purpose should "they keepe the Anniversary, on another day? And so farre questionlesse we may joine issue with the *Cardinal*, that either *Sunday* is not meant in the *Revelation*; or else Saint *Iohn* was not the Authour of keeping *Easter*, with the *Iewes*, on what day soever. Rather we may conceive; that Saint *Iohn* gave way unto the current of the times, which in those places, as is said, were much intent upon the customes of the *Iewes*: most of the *Christians* of those parts, being *Iewes* originally.

(5) For the composing of this difference, and bringing of the Church to an uniformity, the Popes of Rome bestirred themselves; & so did many others also. And first, Pope *Pius* publisheth a declaration, *Pascha domini die dominica annuis solemnitatibus celebrandum esse*, that *Easter* was to be solemnized on the *Lords day* onely. And here, although I take the words of the letter decretorie; yet I relie rather upon *Eusebius*, for the authority of the fact, then on the *Decretall* it selfe; which is neither for the substance probable, and for the date, starke false; not to be trusted; there being no such *Consult* (it is *Crabs* owne note,) as are there set downe. But the Authority of Pope *Pius*, did not reach so farre, as the *Asian* Churches; and therefore

Annal. An. 159

Com. Tom. 1.

In chronie,

it produced an effect accordingly. This was 159. and seven yeares after, *Polycarpus*, Bishop of *Smyrna*, a Reverend and an holy man, made away to *Rome*; *δια το ζήτημα περί τῆς ἑταῖας τοῦ Παγὰ ἡμῶν*. there to conferre with *Anicetus*, then the *Romane* Prelate, about this businesse. And though one could not wooe the other, to desert the cause; yet they communicated together, and so parted Friends. But when that *Blastus* afterwards, had made it necessary, which before was arbitrary; and taught it to be utterly unlawfull, to hold this Feast at any other time, then the *Iewish Passeover*, becomming so the Authour of the *Quarto decimani*, as they used to call them: then did both *Eleutherius* publish a Decree, that it was onely to be kept upon the *Sunday*; and *Irenaeus*, though otherwise a peaceable man, write a Discourse entituled, *De schismate contra Blastum*, now not extant. A little before this time (this hapned Anno 180) the controversie had tooke place in *Laodicea*; *ἐν τῇ ζήτησει πονήσεν Λαοδικεία περί τοῦ Παγὰ*, as *Eusebius* hath it: which mooved *Melito* Bishop of *Sardis*, a man of speciall eminence, to write two Bookes de *Paschate*, and one de *die Dominico*, *περί τῆς κυριακής*. But to what side he tooke, it is hard to say. Were those discourses extant, as they both are lost, we might no doubt finde much that would conduce to our present businesse. Two yeares before the close of this second century, Pope *Victor*, presuming probably on his name, sends abroade his *Mandate*, touching the keeping of this Feast on the *Lords day* onely: against the which, when as *Polycrates*, and other *Asian* Prelates, had set out their *Manifests*, he presently without more adoe, declares them all for *excommunicate*. But when this rather hindred, then advanced the cause, the *Asian* Bishops caring lit le for those *Bruta sublimina*; and *Irenaeus*, who held the same side with him, having perswaded him to milder courses: he went another way to work, by practising with the *Prelates* of severall Churches, to end the matter in particular

Councils.

Councils. Of these, there was one held at *Ostroena*, another by *Bachyllus* Bishop of *Corinth*, a third in *Gaul* by *Irenaeus*, a fourth in *Pontus*, a fifth in *Rome*, a sixth in *Palestine*, by *Theophilus* Bishop of *Cesarea*; the Canons of all which were extant in *Eusebius* time: and in all which it was concluded for the *Sunday*. By meanes of these *Synodicall* determinations: the *Asian Prelates* by degrees let fall their rigour; and yeelded to the stronger and the surer side. Yet waveringly and with some relapses, till the great Councell of *Nice*, backed with the authority of as great an Emperour, settled it better then before: none but some scattered *Schismatics*, now and then appearing, that durst oppose the resolution of that famous Synod. So that you see, that whether you looke upon the day appointed for the *Iewish Sabbath*, or on the day appointed for the *Iewish Passeover*; the *Lords day* found it no small matter, to obtaine the victory. And when it had prevailed so farre, that both the Feast of *Easter* was restrained unto it; and that it had the honour of the *publicke meetings*, of the Congregation: yet was not this, I meane this last, exclusively of all other dayes; the former *Sabbath*, the fourth and sixth dayes of the week, having some share therein for a long time after, as we shall see more plainly in the following *Centuries*.

(6) But first to make an end of this: this *Century* affords us three particular writers, which have made mention of this day. First, *Iustin Martyr*, who then lived in *Rome*, doth thus relate it, *ἡ τοῦ ἡλίου ἡμῶν κοινή πάντες ἡ συνέλευσιν ποιούμεθα*. &c. Vpon the *Sunday* all of us assemble in the Congregation, as being that first day wherein God separating the light and darkenesse did create the world; and *Iesus Christ*, our Saviour, rose againe from the dead. This for the day; then for the service of the day, he describes it thus. Vpon the day called *Sunday*, all that abide within the *Citties*, or about the fields, doe meet together in some place; where the records of the

Apostles,

"Apostles, and writings of the Prophets, as much as is appointed are read unto us. The Reader having done, the Priest or Prelate ministreth a word of exhortation, that we doe imitate those good things, which are there repeated. Then standing up together, we send up our prayers unto the Lord; which ended, there is delivered unto every one of us, bread, and wine with water. After all this the Priest or Prelate offers up our prayers and thanksgiving as much as in him is, to God; and all the people say Amen: those of the richer sort, *καὶ οἱ πλουτοῦντες*, every man as he would himselfe, contributing something towards the reliefe of the poorer brethren; which after, by the Priest, or Prelate, was disposed amongst them. A forme of service, not much different from that, in the Church of England, save that we make the entrance unto our *Lyturgie*, with some preparatory prayers. The rest consistig as we know, of *Psalmes*, and severall readings of the Scriptures, out of the Old Testament and the New; the Epistles, and the holy Gospell: that done, the Homily or Sermon followeth, the *Offertorie* next, then prayers, and after that the Sacrament, and then prayers againe; the people being finally dismissed with a *benediction*. The second testimony of these times is that of *Dionysius* Bishop of *Corinth*, who lived about 175. some 9. yeares after *Iustin Martyr* wrote his last Apologie: who in an Epistle unto *Soter Pope of Rome*, doth relate it thus. *ἡμεῖς οὖν κυριακὴν, καὶ ἁγίαν ἡμέραν διατηροῦμεν, ἐν ᾗ ἀνεγνώκαμεν ἡμῶν καὶ ἐπιστολὴν, &c.* To day, saith he, we kept holy the *Lords day*, wherein wee read the Epistle which you writ unto us, which we doe alwayes read for our instruction, as also the first Epistle writ by *Clemens*. Where note, that not the Scriptures onely, were in those times read publickly in the Congregation; but the *Epistles* and *Discourses* of such learned men, as had beene eminent for place and piety: as in the after times, on defect of *Sermons*, it was the custome of the Church, to read the *Homilies*.

used. l. 4. c. 22.

milies of the *Fathers*, for their edification. Concerning *Concillium* which it was ordained in a Councell at *Vaux*, Anno 441. *Tom. 2.* that if the Priest were sicke, or otherwise infirme, so that he could not preach himselfe; the *Deacons* should rehearse some *Homily*, of the holy *Fathers*. *Si presbyter, aliqua infirmitate prohibente, per seipsum non potuerit predicare, sanctorum Patrum homilie à Diaconibus recitentur*; so the Councell ordered it. The third and last Writer of this Century, which gives us any thing of the *Lords day*, is *Clemens Alexandrinus*, (he flourished in the yeare 190.) *Strom. l. 7.* who though hee fetcht the pedigree of the *Lords day*, even as farre as *Plato* which before wee noted; yet hee seemes well enough contented, that the *Lords day* should not be observed at all. *Σεβειν δὲ δεῖν ἐγκρατεῖν, καὶ πλεον τὸν αὐτὸν &c.* We ought, saith he, to honour and to reverence him, whom we are verily perswaded to be the word, our Saviour and our Captaine; and in him, the Father: *ὅτι ἐν ἐξαίρεταις ἡμέραις ὡς περ ἄλλοι τινές, not in selected time, as some doe amongst us, but alwayes during our whole lives, and on all occasions. The Royall Prophet tels us that he prayed God seven times a day. Whence hee that understands himselfe, stands not upon determinate places, or appointed Temples, ὅτι μὲν ἑορταὶ τινὰς καὶ ἡμέραι ἀποτεταγμέναι, much lesse on any Festivals, or dayes assigned; but in all places honours God, though he be alone. And a little after, Πάντα ποίνον τὸν θεὸν ἑορτὰ ἄροντες, &c. making our whole lives a continuall Festivall, and knowing God to be every where, wee praise him sometimes in the fields, and sometimes sailing on the Seas. and finally in all the times of our life what ever. So in another place of the selfe-same booke, ἔσται ἐν πολλῇ καὶ κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, διαπραγμανομένη, &c. He that doth lead his life according to the ordinances of the Gospell, κυριακὴν καὶ ἐκείνην ποιεῖ then keeps the *Lords day*, when he casts away every evill thought, and doing things with knowledge and under-*

"understanding, doth glorify the Lord in his resurrection. By which it seems, that whatsoever estimation the *Lords day* had attained unto at *Rome*, and *Corinth*: yet either it was not so much esteemed at *Alexandria*; or else this *Clemens* did not thinke so rightly of it, as he should have done.

(7) Now in the place of *Iustin Martyr* before remembred, there is one speciall circumstance to be considered, in reference to our present search: for I say nothing here of mingling water with the Wine, in the holy Sacrament, as not conducing to the businesse which wee have in hand. This is, that in their *Sundayes* service, they did use to stand, during the time they made their prayers unto the Lord: ἐπεὶ τὸ ἀνιστάμεθα κοινὸν πάντες, καὶ εὐχαὶ πᾶσι ποιεῖν, as his words there are. Such was the custome of this time, and a long time after; that though they kneeled on other dayes, yet on the *Lords day* they prayed alwayes standing. Yet not upon the *Lords day* onely, but every day from *Easter* unto *Pentecost*. The reason is thus given by him, who made the *Responsiones*, ascribed to *Iustin*; that so "saith he, we might take notice as of our fall by sin, so of "our restitution by the grace of *Christ*. Six dayes we pray "upon our knees, and thats in token of our fall: καὶ δὲ "ἐν κυριακῇ καὶ κλίνειν γόνα, σύμβολόν ἐστι τῆ ἀναστάσεως, &c. "But on the *Lords day* wee bow not the knee in token "of the Resurrection; by which according to the Grace "of *Christ*, wee are set free from sinne, and the powers of death. The like saith hee, is to be said of the dayes of *Pentecost*, which custome as he tells us, and cites *Irenæus* for his Authour, did take beginning even in the times of the *Apostles*. Rather we may conceive that they used this ceremony, to testifie their faith in the resurrection of our Lord and Saviour: which many *Heretickes* of those times, did publicly gain-say, as before we noted, and shal speake more thereof hereafter. But whatsoever was the reason, it continued long; and was confirmed particular-

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ly by the great Synod of *Nice*, what time some people had begun to neglect this custome. The Synod therefore thus determined, Επειδὴ τινες εἰσιν ἐν τῇ κυριακῇ γόνα κλίνοντες, " &c. that forasmuch as some did use to kneele on the "*Lords day*, and the time of *Pentecost*, that all things, in "all places might be done with an uniformity, it pleased "the holy Synod to decree it thus; ἐσθῶται τὰς εὐχὰς ἀποστῆναι "καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ, that men should stand at those times, when they made their prayers. For Fathers which avow this custome, consult *Tertullian*, lib. de corona mil. S. *Basil. l. de Sp. S. c. 27.* S. *Hierom. adv. Luciferian.* S. *Austin. Epist. 118.* S. *Hilaries Prefat. in Psalm.* *Ambros. Serm. 62.* and divers others. What time this custome was laid by, I can hardly say: but sure I am it was not laid aside in a long time after; not till the time of Pope *Alexander* the third, who lived about the yeare 1160. For in a *Decretall* of his, confirmatory of the former custome, it was prohibited to kneele on the times remembred; Nisi aliquis ex devotione id velit facere, in secreto, unlesse some out of pure devotion, did it secretly. Which dispensation probably occasioned the neglect thereof, in the times succeeding: the rather since those hereticks who formerly had denied the resurrection, were now quite exterminated. This circumstance we have considered the more at large, as being the most especiall difference, whereby the *Sundayes service* was distinguished from the *weeke dayes* worship, in these present times, whereof we write, and yet the difference was not such, that it was proper to the *Lords day* onely: but, if it were a badge of honour, communicated unto more then forty other dayes; of which more anon. But being it was an Ecclesiasticall and occasionall custome, the Church which first ordained it, let it fall againe, by the same authority.

(8) In the third Century, the first wee meete with is *Tertullian*, who flourished in the very first beginnings of it: by whom this day is called by three severall names.

For

can. 20.
Decret. l. 2. tit. 9. c. 2.

Cap. 16.

For first he calls it *Dies solis, Sunday*, as commonly wee now call it; and saith, that they did dedicate the same unto mirth and gladnesse; not to devotion altogether: *Diem solis latitia indulgemus*, in his *Apologeticke*. The same name is used by *Iustin Martyr* in the passages before remembred: partly because being to write to an heathen *Magistrate*, it had not beene so proper, to call it by the name of the *Lords day*, which name they knew not; and partly that delivering the forme and substance of their service done upon that day, they might the better quier themselves, from being worshippers of the *Sunne* as the *Gentiles* thought. For by their meetings on this day for religious exercises, in greater numbers, then on others, in *Africke* and the *West* especially; and by their use of turning towards the *East*, when they made their prayers; the world was sometimes so perswaded. *Inde suspicio, quod innotuerit nos ad Orientis regionem precari*, as he there informeth us. Whereby we may perceive, of what great antiquity that custome is, which is retained in the *Church of England*, of bowing, kneeling, and adoring, towards the *Easterne* parts. The second name by which *Tertullian* calls this day, is the *eight day* simply; *Ethnicis semel annuus dies quisquis festus est, tibi octavo quoque die*. The *Gentiles*, as he tels us, did keepe their festivalls onely once a yeare, the *Christians* every *eight day*, weekly. The third is, *Dies Dominicus*, or the *Lords day*; which is frequent in him, as, *Die Dominico jejunium nefas ducimus*, we hold it utterly unlawfull to fast the *Lords day*; of which more hereafter. For their performances in their publicke meetings hee describes them thus. *Coimus in cœtum & congregationem, &c.* Wee come together into the assembly or congregation, to our common prayers, that being banded as it were in a troope or Armye, we may besiege God with our petitions. To him such violence is exceeding gratefull. It followeth, *Cogimur ad sacramentum & literarum commemorationem, &c.* We meet to heare the holy

De idolat.

c. 14.

De coronâ mil.

c. 3.

Apol. 39.

“ holy Scriptures rehearsed unto us, that so according to
 “ the quality of the times, we may either be p^remonth-
 “ ed, or corrected by them. Questionlesse by these holy
 “ speeches our faith is nourished, our hopes erected, our
 “ assurance settled: and notwithstanding by inculcating
 “ the same, we are the better stablished in our obedience
 “ to Gods precepts. A little after, *President probati quique*
 “ *seniores, &c.* Now at these generall meetings, some
 “ *Priests* or *Elders* doe preside, which have attained unto
 “ that honour not by money, but by the good report
 “ that they have gotten in the Church. And if there be a
 “ *poore-mans Boxe*, every one cast in somewhat *men-*
 “ *struadie*, at least once a moneth, according as they
 “ would, and as they were able. Thus he describes the
 forme of their publicke meetings: but that such meetings
 were then used amongst them, on the *Sunday* onely, that
 he doth not say. Nor can wee learne by him, or by *Iustin*
Martyr, who describes them also, either how long those
 meetings lasted, or whether they assembled more then
 once a day; or what they did, after the meetings were
 dissolved. But sure it is, that their assemblies held no lon-
 ger than our Morning Service; that they met onely before
 noone; for *Iustin* saith, that when they met, they used to
 receive the Sacrament; and that the Service being done,
 every man went againe to his daily labours. Of all these I
 shall speake hereafter. Onely I note it out of *Beza*, that
 hitherto the people used not to forbear their labours, but
 while they were assembled in the Congregation: there
 being no such duty enjoyned amongst them, neither in
 the times of the Apostles, nor after, many yeares, nor till
 the Emperour had embraced the Gospel, and therewith
 published their Edicts to enforce men to it. But take his
 words at large for the more assurance. *Vt autem Christi-*
ani eo die à suis quotidianis laboribus abstinerent, preter
id temporis quod in cœtu ponebatur, id neque illis Aposto-
licis temporibus mandatum, neque primum fuit observatum
quam

In Cant. Sol.
hom. 30.

quam id a Christianis Imperatoribus, ne quis a rerum sacrarum meditatione abstraheretur, & quidem non ita precise observatum. That Christians ought, saith he, to abstaine that day from their daily labour; except that part thereof alone, which was appointed for the meetings of the Congregation; was never either commanded in the Apostles times, nor otherwise observed in the Church; untill such time, that so it was enjoined by Christian Emperours, to the end the people might not be diverted from meditating on holy matters, nor was it then so strictly kept, as it was enjoined. Which makes it manifest, that the Lords day was not taken for a Sabbath day, in these three first Ages. But for Tertullian where I left, note that I rendered *seniores*, by Priests or Elders; because I thinke his meaning was, to render the Greeke *Presbyter*, by the Latine *senior*. For that hee should there meane *lay-elders*, as some men would have it; is a thing impossible: considering that hee tels us in another place, that they received the Sacrament at the hands of those, who did preside in the assemblies. *Eucharistie Sacramentum non de aliorum manu, quam de Presidentium sumimus*; and therefore sure they must be Priests, that so presided.

(9) Proceed we next to Origen, who flourished at the same time also, Hee being an Auditor of Clemens, in the schooles of Alexandria, became of his opinions too in many things: and amongst others, in dislike of those selected festivals, which by the Church were set apart; for Gods publicke service. *Dicite mihi vos qui festis tantum diebus ad Ecclesiam convenitis, cetera dies non sunt festi, non sunt dies Domini? Iudeorum est dies certos & raros observare solennes &c.* Christians, *omni die carnes agni comedunt*, i.e. carnes verbi Dei quotidie sumunt. Tel me saith he, "you that frequent the Church on the feast dayes onely; are not all dayes festivall? are not all the Lords? It appertaines

"pertaines unto the Jewes to observe dayes, and festivals: the Christians every day eate the flesh of the Lambe, i.e. they every day doe heare the Word of God. And in another place, *Εορταζει γαρ κατ' ἀλήθειαν ὁ πᾶς δέοντα ποιῶν, αἰεὶ εὐχόμενος, διὰ παντός θύων τὰς ἀναμάρτους ἐν ταῖς πρὸς τὸ θεῖον εὐχαῖς θυσίας, &c.* Hee truly keeps the festivals, that performes his duty, praying continually, and offering every day the unbloudy sacrifice, in his prayers to God. Which whosoever doth, and is upright in thought word and deed, adhering alwayes unto God, our naturall Lord; *αἰεὶ ἀγχιχωροῦντος ἡμερᾶς*, Every day is to him a Lords day. It seemes too, that he had his desire, in part: it being noted by the Mandeburgians, that every day there were assemblies in Alexandria, where he lived, for hearing of the word of God. *Et de collectis quotidie celebratis in quibus predicatum sit verbum Dei*, Hom. 9. in Isa. *significare videtur*, as they note it from him. Indeed the Proem to his severall Homilies, seeme to intimate, that if they met not every day, to heare his Lectures; they met very often. But being a learned man, and one that had a good conceit of his owne abilities, hee grew offended that there was not as great resort of people every day to heare him; as upon the Festivals. Of Sunday there is little doubt, but that it was observed amongst them, so was the Wednesday, and the Friday both. For it is positively said by Socrates, that on them both, the Scriptures were read openly, and afterwards expounded by the Doctors of the Church; and all things done appointed by the publicke Liturgie, save that they did not use to receive the sacrament. *Καὶ τὸ πᾶν ἐστὶν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ ἀρχαῖον ἔθος*. And this saith he was the old use in Alexandria: which he confirms by the practise of Origen, who was accustomed, as hee tels us, to preach upon these dayes to the Congregation. Tertullian too, takes speciall notice of these two dayes; whereof consult him in his booke *adv. Psychicos*.

(10) About

Cent. 2. c. 6.

Cent. 2. c. 6.

Hist. l. 5. c. 23.

De coron. mil.
c. 3.

In Gen. hom.
10. Cont. Cels. l.
8.

(10) About the middle of this Century, did Saint Cyprian live, another African: and he hath left us somewhat, although not much, which concernes this business. Aurelius, one of excellent parts, was made a Reader in the Church, I thinke of Carthage: which being very welcome newes to the common people, Saint Cyprian makes it knowne unto them; and withall lets them understand, that Sunday was the day appointed for him, to begin his Ministry. *Et quoniam semper gaudium proferat, nec mora ferre potest letitia, dominico legit.* So that as Sunday was a day, which they used to meet on; so reading of the Scripture was a speciall part of the Sundayes exercise. Not as an exercise to spend the time, when one doth waite for anothers coming, till the assembly be compleate; and that without or choice, or stint, appointed by determinate order; as is now used both in the French and Belgicke Churches: for what neede such an eminent man, as Aurelius was, be taken out with so much expectation, to exercise the *Clarks*, or the *Sextons* duty. But it was used amongst them then, as a chiefe portion of the service which they did to God; in hearkening reverently unto his voice: It being so ordered in the Church, that the whole Bible or the greatest part thereof, should be read over once a yeare. And this, that so the Ministers of the congregation, by often reading and meditation of Gods Word, be stirred up to godlinesse themselves, and be the more able to exhort others by wholesome doctrine, and to confute them that were Adversaries to the truth: as that the people by daily hearing of the Scriptures, should profit more and more in the knowledge of God, and bee the more inflamed with the love of his true Religion. Now for the duties of the people, on this day, in the Congregation, as they used formerly to heare the Word, and receive the Sacraments, and to powre forth their soules to God in affectionate prayers: so much about these times, viz. in Anno. 257. it had beene appointed by Pope Fabian, that every man and woman,

Preface to the
Common prayer

Decret. l. 5. c. 7

woman, should, on the Lords day, bring a quantity of bread and wine; first to be offered on the Altar, and then distributed in the Sacrament. A thing which had beene done before, as of common course; but now exacted as a duty: for the neglect whereof, Saint Cyprian chides with a rich widdow of his time, who neither brought her offering, nor otherwise gave any thing to the poore-mans Boxe; and therefore did not celebrate the Lords Supper, as shee should have done. *Locuples, & dives, dominicum celebrare te credis, quæ Carbonem omnino non respicis, quæ in Dominicum, sine sacrificio venis, quæ partem de sacrificio, quod pauper obtulit, sumis.* Thinkest thou that thou dost rightly celebrate the Lords Supper, who being rich, and wealthy, hast no care at all of the poore-mans Boxe? who comest into the Church, (for so Dominicum doth signifie in the second place) without thy sacrifice; and eatest a part of that, which the poore man offereth? In after times this custome went away by little and little; in stead of which it was appointed by the Church, and retained in ours, that Bread and Wine for the Communion, shall be provided by the Church-wardens, at the charge of the Parish, I should now leave Saint Cyprian here, but that I am to tell you first, that hee conceives the Lords day, to have beene prefigured in the eight day, destinate to circumcision. Which being but a private opinion of his owne; I rather shall referre the Reader unto the place, then repeate the words. And this is all, this Age affords me in the present search.

De pietat &
Elemos.

V l. 3. Ep. 8.

Cont. Cel. l. 8.

(11) For other holy dayes instituted by the Church, for Gods publick service, in these three Centuries precedent; besides the Lords day, or the Sunday, which came every weeke; Origen names Good Friday, as we call it now; or the Parasceve, as he calls it there; the feast of Easter, & of Pentecost. Of Easter we have spoke already. For Pentecost or Whitsontide, as it began with the Apostles, so it continues

nues till this present, but not in that solemnity which before it had. For anciently not that day onely, which we call *Whitsunday*, or *Pentecost* *κατ' ἑξοχὴν*, but all the fifty dayes, from *Easter*, forwards, were accounted holy; and solemnized with no lesse observation, then the *Sundayes* were: no kneeling on the one, nor upon the other; no fasting on the one, nor upon the other. Of which dayes, that of the *Ascension*, or *Holy-Thursday*, being one; became in little time, to be more highly reckoned of then all the rest: as we shall prove hereafter out of Saint *Austin*. But for these 50. dayes aforesaid, *Tertullian* tels us of them, thus, *Die Dominico jejuniū nefas ducimus, vel de geniculis adorare; Eadem immunitate a die Paschæ in Pentecosten gaudemus.* We count it an impiety, saith he, "to fast on the *Lords day*, or to pray kneeling on the same: "the same immunity wee enjoy, from *Easter* unto *Whitsontide*; which makes both alike. Which words if any thinke too short, to reach the point; hee tels us in another place, that all the Festivals of the *Gentiles* contained not so many dayes as did that one. *Excerpe singulas solennitates nationum, & in ordinem texe, Pentecosten implere non poterunt.* The like-hee hath also in his booke *adv. Pſychicos*: the like Saint *Hierom ad Lucimum*; the like Saint *Ambrose*, or *Maximus Taurinens.* which of the two soever it was, that made those Sermons, *Serm. 60, 61.* In which last it is said expresly of those fifty daies, that every one of them, was *instar Dominice*, and *qualis est Dominica*, in all respects nothing inferior to the *Lords day*. And in the Comment on Saint *Luke* (which questionlesse was writ by *Ambrose*) *cap. 17. 1. 8.* it is said expresly, *Et sunt omnes dies tanquam Dominica*, that every day of all the fifty, was to be reckoned off no otherwise, in that regard, especially, then the *Sunday* was. Some footsteps of this custome yet remaine amongst us, in that we fast not either on *S. Marks Eve*, or on the *Eve* of *S. Philip* and *Iacob*, happening within that time. The fast

De Coron. mil.
c. 3.

De Idol. c. 14.

fast of the *Rogation week*: was after instituted, on a particular, and extraordinary occasion. Now as these festivals of *Easter* and of *Whitsontide*, were instituted in the first age or *Century*, and with them, those two dayes attendant, which we still retaine; whereof see *Austin de Civit. Dei*, li. 22. ca. 8. & *Nyssen* in his first *Hom. de Paschate*, where *Easter* is expresly called *τηνμεγιστην αμαρτιας*, or the three-dayes-feast: so was the feast of *Christs nativitie* ordained or instituted in the second; that of his *incarnation*, in the third. For this, we have an *Homilie* of *Gregory*, surnamed *Thaumaturgus*, who lived in An. 230, entituled *De annunciatione B. Virginis*, as we call it now. But being it is questionable among the learned, whether that *Homilie* be his, or not: there is an *Homilie* of *Athanasius*; on the selfesame argument, (he lived in the beginning of the following *Centurie*) whereof there is no question to be made at all. That of the *Lords nativitie*, began, if not before, in the second Age. *Theophilus Casariens.* who lived about the times of *Commodus*, and *Severus*, the *Romane Emperours*, makes mention of it; and fixeth it upon the 25. of *Decemb.* as we now observe it. *Natalem Domini, quocunque die 8. Calend. Ianuar. venerit, celebrare debemus*, as his owne words are. And after, in the time of *Maximinus*, which was one of the last great persecutors, *Nicephorus* tels us, that in ipso natalis *Dominici die*, *Christianos Nicomedia festivitatem celebrantes, succenso templo concremavit*; even in the very "day of the *Lords nativity*, he caused the *Christians* to be "burnt at *Nicomedia*, whilest they were solemnizing this "great feast, within their Temple. I say this *Great Feast*, and I call it so on the authority of *Beda*, who reckoneth *Christmas*, *Easter*, and *Whitsontide*: for *majora solennia*; as they still are counted. But before *Beda* it was so thought over all the Church. *Chrysostome* calls it, *μετροπολις* *της πατρως εστως* the mother or *metropolis* of all other feasts. And before him *Pope Fabian*, whom but now we spake of

Orat. de Phl.
legon.

See Binjus
Cous. T. 1.

Ec

of, ordained that all lay-men should communicate at least thrice a yeare, which was these three festivalls. *Et si non frequentius, saltem ter in Anno Laici homines communicent, &c. in Pascha & Pentecoste, & Natali Domini.* So quickly had the *Annua*ll got the better, of the *weekly* Festivalls. According to which ancient Canon, the Church of England hath appointed that every man communicate at least thrice a yeare, of which times Easter to be one.

(12) Before wee end this Chapter, there is one thing yet to be considered, which is the name, whereby the *Christians* of these first *Ages*, did use to call the day of the resurrection; and consequently the other dayes of the weeke, according as they found the time divided. The rather, because some are become offended, that wee retaine those names amongst us: which were to us commended by our Ancestours; and to them, by theirs. Where first we must take notice, that the *Iewes* in honour of their Sabbath, used to referre their times to that; distinguishing their dayes by *Prima Sabbati*, *Secunda Sabbati*, and so untill they came to the Sabbath it selfe: as on the other side the *Gentiles*, following the motions of the Planets; gave to each day the name of that particular Planet, by which the first houre of the day was governed, as their *Astrolagers* had taught them: Now the *Apostles*, being *Iewes*, retained the custome of the *Iewes*; and for that reason called that day on which our Saviour rose, *πρὸ σαββάτου, una sabbati*, the first day of the weeke, as our *English* reads it. The Fathers, many of them followed their example. Saint *Austin* thereupon calls *Thursday*, by the name of *quintum sabbati*, *Epist. 118*, and so doth venerable *Beda*, *hist. lib. 4. c. 25*. *S. Hierome*, Tuesday, *tertium sabbati*, in *Epitaph. Pauli*; *Tertullian* Friday, by the old name, *parasceve* *l. 4. advers. Marcion*. Saturday they called generally the Sabbath; and Sunday, sometimes *dies solis*, and sometimes *Dominicus*. Pope *Silvester*, as *Polydore Virgill* is of opinion, *vano- rum decorum memoriam abhorrens*, hating the name and

De invent re-
rum l. 5, 6.

memo-

memory of the *Gentile-gods*, gave order that the dayes should be called by the name of *Feria*; and the distinction to be made by *Prima feria*, *secunda feria*, &c. the Sabbath and the Lords day, holding their names, and places, as before they did. Hence that of *Honorius Augustodunensis*: *Hebraei nominant dies suos, una vel prima sabbati, &c. Paganis sic, dies solis, Luna, &c. Christiano vero sic dies nominant, viz. Dies Dominicus; feria prima, &c. Sabbatum.* But by their leaves, this is no universall rule; the Writers of the *Christian Church* not tying up their hands so strictly, as not to give the dayes what names they pleased: Save that the Saturday is called amongst them by no other name, then that which formerly it had, the Sabbath. So that when ever for a thousand yeares, and upwards we meete with *Sabbatum*, in any writer of what name soever, it must be understood of no day but Saturday. As for the other day, the day of resurrection, and the *Evangelists*, and *S. Paul*, take notice of no other name, then of the first day of the weeke, *S. John*, and after him *Ignatius*, call it *πρωτη ημερα*, the Lords day. But then againe *Iustin Martyr* for the second Century, doth in two severall passages call it no otherwise then *τὸ ἡμέραν*, Sunday, as then the *Gentiles* called it, and we call it now: and so *Tertullian* for the third, who useth both, and calls it sometimes *diem solis*, and sometimes *Dominicum*, as before was said. Which questionlesse neither of them would have done, on what respect soever, had it beene either contrary to the Word of God, or scandalous unto his Church. So for the after ages, in the Edicts of *Constantine*, *Valentinian*, *Valens*, *Gratian*, *Honorius*, *Arcadius*, *Theodosius*, Christian Princes all, it hath no other name then Sunday, or *dies solis*; and many faire yeares after them, the Synod held at *Dingulofinum* in the lower *Bavaria*, Anno 772, calls it plainly Sunday, *Festo die solis prophanis negotiis abstinere*: of which Edicts we shall speake hereafter. Thus also *Aventine*, for the latter Writers, who lived not till the Age last past,

De imagine
mundi, cap. 28.

Ee 2

spea-

Hist. 1. 3.

Cont. Faust.
lib. 19. c. 5.

speaking of the battaile fought neere *Cambry* betweene *Charles Martell*, and *Hilpericus* King of France, saith that it hapned on the thirteenth of the *Calends* of *Aprill*, *que tum dies solis ante Paschalia erat*, being he *Sunday* before *Easter*. They therefore are more nice than wise, who out of a desire to have all things new, would have new names for every day; or call them as sometimes they were, the *first day of the weeke* the *second day of the weeke*, & sic de ceteris: and all for feare, lest it be thought that we doe still adore those *Gods*, whom the *Gentiles* worshipped. *S. Augustine*, as it seemes, had met with some, this way affected, and thus disputes the case with *Faustus Manichæus*. *Deorum suorum nomina gentes imposuerunt diebus istis, &c.* The *Gentiles* saith the Father, gave unto every day of the weeke, the name of one or other of their *Gods*: and so they did also unto every moneth. If then we keepe the name of *March*, and not thinke of *Mars*; why may we not, saith he, preserve the name of *Saturday*; and not thinke of *Saturne*. I adde, why may we not then keepe the name of *Sunday*, and not thinke of *Phœbus*, or *Apollo*, or by what other name soever, the old *Poets* call him. This though it satisfied the *Manichees*, will not perhaps now satisfie some curious men, who doe as much dislike the names of the *Months*, as of the *dayes*. To others I presume it may give some reason, why we retaine the name of *Sunday*, not onely in our common speech. but in the *Canons* of the *Church*, and our *Acts of Parliament*: as being used indifferently by so many eminent persons in the *Primitive Church*, as also in a open *Synod*, as before was shewne; from thence transmitted, by our *Fathers*, unto their posterity. Better by farre, and farre lesse danger to be feared, in calling it the *Sunday*, as the *Gentiles* did; and as our *Ancestours* have done before us: then calling it the *Sabbath*, as too many doe, and on lesse authority; nay, contrary indeed to all *antiquity*, and *scripture*.

CHAP.



CHAP. III.

That in the fourth Age from the time of
Constantine to Saint Austine, the Lords
day was not taken for a Sab-
bath day.

(1) The Lords day first established by the Emperour Constantine. (2) What labours were permitted, and what restrained on the Lords day, by this Emperours Edict. (3) Of other holy dayes, and Saints dayes, instituted in the time of Constantine. (4) That weekly other dayes particularly the Wednesday and the Friday, were in this Age, and those before appointed for the meetings of the Congregation. (5) The Saturday as highly honoured in the Easterne Churches, as the Lords day was. (6) The Fathers of the Easterne Churches, cry downe the Iewish Sabbath, though they held the Saturday. (7) The Lords day not spent wholly in religious exercises; and what was done with that part of it, which was left at large. (8) The Lords day, in this Age, a day of feasting; and that it hath beene alwayes deemed hereticall, to hold fasts thereon. (9) Of recreation on the Lords day: and of what kind those dancings were, against the which the Fathers enueigh so sharply. (10) Other Imperiall Edicts, about the keeping of the Lords day, and the other holy dayes. (11) The Orders, at this time in use, on the Lords day, and other dayes of publick meeting

Ec 3

meeting, in the Congregation. (12) The infinite differences betweene the Lords day, and the Sabbath.

(1)



hitherto have we spoken of the Lords day, as taken up by the common consent of the Church: not instituted or established by any text of Scripture, or Edict of Emperour, or decree of counsell; save that some few particular Councils did reflect upon it, in the point of Easter. In that

which followeth, wee shall finde both Emperours and Councils very frequent, in ordering things about this day, and the service of it. And first wee have the Emperour *Constantine*, who being the first Christian Prince which publickely profest the Gospel; was the first also which made any law, about the keeping of the Lords day or Sunday. Of him *Eusebius* tells us, that thinking that the chiefeft and most proper day, for the devotion of his subjects, hee presently declared his pleasure, τοῖς ὑπὸ τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν πολιτευομένοις ἅπασιν, τυχὸν ἀγνίσαι, πᾶσι ἐπωνύμοις τῷ Σωτῆρι ἡμέραις, that every one who lived “in the Roman Empire, should take their ease, or rest, in that day, weekly, which is entituled to our Saviour. Now where the souldiers in his campe, were partly Christians, and partly Gentiles: it was permitted unto them who professed the Gospel, upon the Sunday, so he calls it, freely to goe unto the Churches, and there offer up their prayers to Almighty God. But such as had continued still in their antient errours, were ordered to assemble in the open fields, upon those dayes; and on a signall given, to make their prayers unto the Lord, after a forme

De vir. const.
lib. 4. c. 18.

forme by him prescribed. The forme being in the Latine tongue, was this that followeth. *Te solum Deum* cap. 20. *agnoscimus, te regem profitemur, te adiutorem invocamus, per te victorias consecuti sumus, per te hostes superavimus, a te & presentem felicitatem consecutos fatemur, & futuram adepturos speramus: tui omnes supplices sumus; a te petimus, ut Constantinum Imperatorem nostrum una cum pijs ejus liberis, quam diutissimè nobis saluum & victorem conserves.* In English, thus. Wee doe acknowledge thee “to be the onely God, we confesse thee to be the King, “we call upon thee as our helper and defender: by thee “alone it is that we have got the victory, and subdued “our enemies; to thee as wee referre all our present “happinesse, so from thee also doe we expect our future. “Thee therefore we beseech, that thou wouldest please “to keepe in all health and safety, our noble Emperour “Constantine, with his hopefull progeny. Nor was this onely to be done in the fields of Rome, in patentibus suburbiorum campis, as the Edict ranne: but after, by another proclamation, he did command the same over all the Provinces of the Empire. καὶ τοῖς κατ’ ἑνὶ ὁ ἀρχαῖον ὁμοίως τὴν κυριακὴν ἡμέραν νόμῳ ἐφοῦτα γενεῖν, τῷ νεύματι βασιλέως, as *Eusebius* hath it. So naturall a power it is in a Christian Prince, to order things about religion; that he not onely tooke upon him to command the day, but also to prescribe the service; to those I meane who had no publicke Liturgie, or set forme of Prayer.

(2) Nor did he onely take upon him to command or appoint the day, as to all his subjects; and to prescribe a forme of prayer, as unto the Gentiles: but to decree what worke should be allowed upon it, and what intermitted in former times, though the Lords day, had got the credit, as to be honoured with the publicke meetings of the Congregation; yet was it not so strictly kept, no not in time of Divine service, but that the publicke magistrates, Judges and other Ministers of state, were

E c 4

to

to attend those great employments they were called unto, without relation to this day, or cessation on it: and so did other men, which had lesse employments, and those not so necessary. These things this pious Emperour taking into consideration, and finding no necessity, but that his *Judges* and other publicke *ministers*, might attend Gods service on that day; at least not be a meanes to keepe others from it; and knowing that such as dwelt in *Citties*, had sufficient leisure to frequent the *Church*; and that *Artificers* without any publicke discommodity, might, for that time, forbear their ordinary labours: he ordered and appointed, that all of them, in their severall places should this day lay aside their *owne busynesse*, to attend the *Lords*. But then withall considering, that such as followed *husbandry*, could not so well neglect the times of *seede* and *harvest*, but that they were to take advantage of the fairest and most seasonable weather, as God pleased to send it; he left it free to them, to follow their affaires on what day soever: lest otherwise they might lose those blessings, which God, in his great bounty, had bestowed upon them. This mentioned in the very Edict he set forth about it. First for his *Judges*, *Citizens* or inhabitants of the greater townes, and all *Artificers* therein dwelling. *Omnes Iudices, urbanaque plebes, & cunctarum artium officia, venerabili die Solis quiescant.* Next for the people of the Country, *Rure tamen positi, libere licenterque agrorum cultura inserviant, quoniam frequenter evenit, ut non aptius alio die, frumenta sulcis, vinea scrobibus mandentur.* And then the reason of this followes, *Ne occasione momenti, pereat commoditas celesti provisione concessa:* The tenour of the whole is this. It is our pleasure that all *Judges*, inhabitants of *Cities*, and *Artificers*, should on the venerable *Sunday* lay aside their businesses. As for the people of the Country that they with liberty, and safety, shall attend their husbandry, on that day: because it hap-

L. Omnes cap.
de seruu.

“neth many times, that no day is more fit than that,
“either for sowing corne, or for planting vines: lest
“otherwise by neglect of convenient seasons, they
“lose those benefits which their God had bestowed
“upon them. This Edict did beare date, in the Nones
of *March*, Anno 321, being the 11 year of that
Princes Empire: and long it did not stand, till hee
himselfe was faine to explaine his meaning in the first
part of it. For whereas hee intended onely to re-
straine *law suites*, and contentious pleadings, as be-
ing unfit for such a day: his *Judges*, and like *officers*,
finding a generall restraint in the law or Edict, durst
not ingage themselves in the Cognizance of any ci-
vill cause what ever; no not so much as in the *Ma-
numission* of a *Bondslave*. This comming to the Em-
perours notice, who was a friend of liberty, and
could not but well understand, how acceptable a
thing it was to God, that workes of charity and mer-
cy should not bee restrained on any dayes: it pleased
him to send out a second Edict, in the *July* following,
directed to *Elpidius*, who was then *Præfatus Præto-
rio*, as I take it; wherein he authorized his *Ministers* to
performe that Office, any thing in the former Law,
unto the contrary notwithstanding. For so it runnes,
Sicut indignissimum videbatur, diem Solis venerationis *ibid.*
*sua celebrem, altercantibus jurgijs & noxijs partium con-
tentionibus, occupari; ita gratum est & jucundum, eo die,
que sunt maxime voriva, compleri. Atque ideo emanci-
pandi & manumittendi, die festo, cuncti licentiam ha-
beant; & super his rebus, Acta non prohibeantur.*
“As wee conceived it most unfitting, that Sunday be-
“ing a famous and a sacred day, should bee taken
“up, in wrangling suites, and hurtfull altercations:
“so is it a most gratefull and most pleasing thing,
“that those things should be done upon it, which are
“most desired. Therefore it is our pleasure that all our
mini-

“ministers have leave to manumit and make free, on that holy day; and enter all such Acts, as concerne the same. So that not onely husbandry was permitted, in small Townes and Villages; but *manumission*, being a meere *civill Act*, and of no small ceremonie, was by him suffered and allowed in the greater Citties. The first great worke done by the first great *Christian Prince* was to declare his royall pleasure about this day; what things he thought most proper to *permit*, and what to *disallow* upon it: teaching all other *Kings and Princes* which have since *succeeded*, what they should also doe on the same occasion.

(3) Nor did this pious Prince confirme and regulate the *Lords day* onely; but unto him we are indebted for many of those other *Festivals*, which have beene since observed in the *Church of God*. It had beene formerly a custome in the *Christian Church*, carefully to observe the times and dayes of their departure, who had preferred the *Gospel* before their *lives*; and suffered many torments, and at last death it selfe, for the faith of *Christ*. The *Church of Smyrna* (and that's the highest wee neede goe (testifieth in an Epistle writ *ad Philomelienses*, that they did celebrate the day, wherein their Reverend Bishop *Polycarp* did suffer Martyrdome, with joy and gladnesse, and an holy *Convocation*. This was in Anno 170. or there abouts. And in the following *Age*, S. *Cyprian* taking notice of such men, as were imprisoned for the testimony of a good conscience, appointed that the daies of their decease should be precisely noted; that so their memories might be celebrated with the holy *Martyrs*. *De-nique & dies eorum quibus excedunt, annotate, ut commemorationes eorum, inter memorias martyrum celebrare possimus*, as there he hath it. But hitherto they were onely bare memorialls, (for more they durst not doe in those times of trouble,) their sufferings onely signified to the *Congregation*: and that they did unto this end, that by exhibi-

Euseb. hist. l. 4.
c. 14.

Epl. 8. l. 3.

exhibiting to the people their infinite indurances for the truth and testimony of Religion, they also might be nourished in an equall constancie. After, when as the *Church* was in perfect peace, it pleased the Emperour *Constantine*, to signifie to all his Deputies and Lieutenants in the *Roman Empire*, that they should have a care to see those the *memorials* of the *Martyrs* duely honoured; and solemne times or *Festivals* to be appointed in the *Churches*, to that end and purpose. *Καὶ μαρτύρων ἡμῶν ἡμερῶν, καὶ ἐν τῷ ἑορτῶν τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἐθετέον*, as that Author hath it. And though these *Festivals*, and *Saints dayes*, became not forthwith common, over all the world; but were observed in those parts chiefly, wherein the memorie of the *Saint*, or *Martyr*, was in most esteeme; in which respect *Saint Hierome* calls them, *tempora in honore Martyrum, pro diversa regionum varietate, constituta*: yet in a little tract of time, such of them as had beene most eminent, as the *Apostles*, and *Evangelists*; were universally received and celebrated, even as now they are. I say as now they are, as they are now observed in the *Church of England*; and this I say upon the credit and authority of *Theodoret*: Who, though hee gives another reason and originall of these *institutions*; informes us of these *Festivals*, that they were *modeste, casta, temperantia plena*, performed with modestie chastitie and sobrietie: not as the *Festivals* of the *Gentiles* were, in excesse and riot. And not so onely, but he affirms this of them, *divinis canticis personantis, sacrisque sermonibus audiendis intentæ*, that they were solemnized with spirituall Hymnes, and religious Sermons: and that the people used to empty out their soules to God in fervent and affectionate Prayers, *non sine lachrymis & suspirijs*, even with sighes and teares. As for *Theodoret*, he lived and flourished in the yeare 420. and speakes of these *Festivals* (S. *Peter* and S. *Thomas* and S. *Paul*, with others which he names particularly) as things which had beene settled and established a long time before.

Euseb. l. 4.
cap. 23.

In Gal. 4.

De Martyr
l. 8.

fore : and therefore could not be much after the time of *Constantine*, who dyed not till the yeare 341. or thereabouts. As for the eighth booke *de Martyrib.* Where this passage is, it is the 12. of those entituled *de curandis Grac. affect.* And howsoever some exception hath beene made against them, as that they were not his, whose name they carry : yet finde I no just prooffe thereof, amongst our Critickes.

De vit. Conf.
l. 4. c. 18.

Rist. l. 2. c. 3.

(4) Now as the Emperour *Constantine* did adde the *Annually Festivals* of the *Saints*, unto those other *Anniversarie* feasts, which formerly had beene observed in the *Christian Church* : so by this royall Edict did hee settle and confirme those publicke meetings, which had beene formerly observed on each *Friday* weekly ; the *Wednesday* standing on the same *Basis*, as before it did, which was the *custome* of the *Church*. *Eusebius* having told us of this Emperours Edict, about the honouring of the *Sunday*; addes, that he also made the like about the *Friday* : *ὁμοίως καὶ τὰς περὶ τὸ σαββάτου τιμὰν* as the Author hath it. *Sozomen* addes, that he enjoyned also the like rest upon it, the like *cessation* both from *judicature*, and all other *businesses* : and after gives this reason of it. *Ἐπίμα δὲ τὴν κυριακὴν, ὡς ἐν ταύτῃ τῷ Χριστῷ ἀναστὰς ἔξ ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν ἡ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, ὡς ἐν αὐτῇ σαυροθέν*. He honoured the one, saith he, as being the day of our Redeemers *resurrection* : on, the other, as the day of our Saviours *passion*. So for the practise of the *Church* in the following times, that they used other dayes besides the *Sundays*, is evident by many passages of *Cyrill of Hierusalem*, where he makes mention of the Sermon preached the day before, *τῇ χθὲς ἡμέρᾳ* in his owne Language; *Catech. orat. 7.* & *τῇ χθὲς ἡμέρᾳ κατὰ τὴν κυριακὴν*. the morrow after the *Lords day*, *Cat. 14.* & *τῆς χαρτιστίνης μυσταγωγίας*. *Catech. Mystag. 2.* The like is very frequent in *S. Ambrose* also. *Hesternus die de fonte disputavimus, De Sacram. lib. 3. cap. 1.* *Hesternus noster sermo ad sancti altaris sacramentum deductus est.* lib.

lib. 5. cap. 1. and in other places. The like in *Chrysostome*, as in many other places; too many to be pointed at in this place and time; so in his 18. *Hom.* on the 3. of *Gen.* *ἐν δὲ τῇ χθὲς τῇ δίκῃς ἡ φιλανθρωπία*, &c. But this perhaps was onely in respect of Lectures, or Expositions of the Scriptures; such as were often used in the greater Cities, where there was much people, and but little businessse: for I conceive not that they met every day, in those times, to receive the Sacraments. Of *Wednesday*, *Eph. 289.* and of *Friday* it is plaine they did, (for of the *Saturday* we shall speake more fully in the next Section:) *S. Basil.* names them all together, *Καὶ τὸ κοινωνεῖν δε καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ*, &c. It is saith he, a profitable and pious thing, every day to communicate, and to participate of the blessed body and blood of *Christ* our Saviour; he having told us in plaine termes, that *Whosoever eateth his flesh, and drinketh his blood, hath eternall life*. Wee notwithstanding doe communicate but foure times weekly, *ἐν τῇ κυριακῇ, καὶ ἐν τῇ τετράδι, ἐν τῇ παρασκευῇ καὶ ἐν τῷ σαββάτῳ*. viz. on the *Lords day*, the *Wednesday*, the *Friday* and the *Saturday*; unlesse on any other dayes, the memory of some *Martyr* be perhaps observed. *Epiphanius* goeth a little further, and he deriveth the *Wednesdays* and the *Fridays* Service, even from the *Apostles*; ranking them in the same *antiquity*, and grounding them upon the same *authority*, that he doth the *Sunday*. *Συνάξεις δὲ ἐπιτελέμεναι ταχθεῖσαι εἰσιν ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀποστόλων τετράδις, καὶ παρασκευῇ καὶ κυριακῇ*. Onely it seemes the difference was, that whereas formerly it had beene the custome, not to administer the Sacrament on these two dayes (being both of them fasting dayes, and so accounted long before) untill towards evening: It had beene changed of late, and they did celebrate in the mornings, *ἐν κυριακῇ ἡμέρᾳ* as on the *Lords day* was accustomed. Whether the meetings on these dayes were of such *antiquity*, as *Epiphanius* saith they were, I will not meddle. Certaine it is that they were

Expos. fid.
Cath. 11. 22.

were very ancient in the Church of God; as may appeare by that of *Origen*, and *Tertullian*; before remembred. So that if we consider either the preaching of the Word, the ministrations of the Sacraments, or the publicke Prayers; the *Sunday* in the *Easterne Churches* had no great prerogative above other dayes, especially above the *Wednesday* and the *Friday*, save that the meetings were more solemne, and the concourse of people greater than at other times, as it is most likely. The footesteps of this antient custome are yet to be observed in this Church of England; by which it is appointed that on *Wednesdays* and *Fridays* weekly, though they be not holy dayes, the Minister at the accustomed houres of Service shall resort to Church, and say the *Letanie* prescribed in the booke of *Common Prayer*.

Can. 15.

(5) As for the *Saturday*, that retained its wounted credit in the *Easterne Church*; little inferiour to the *Lords day*; if not plainly equall: not as a *Sabbath*, thinke not so; but as a day designed unto sacred meetings. The *Constitutions* of the *Apostles*, said to be writ by *Clemens*, one of *Saint Peters* first successours in the Church of *Rome*, appoint both dayes to be observed as solemne *Festivals*; both of them to bee dayes of rest: that so the servant might have time to repaire unto the Church, for his institution. Εργαζέσθωσαν οἱ δούλοι πέντε ἡμέρας, σάββατον δὲ καὶ κυριακὴν ἡσυχάζετωσαν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, διὰ τὴν διδασκαλίαν, τῆς εὐσεβείας.

Lib. 8. c. 33.

“let servants, saith the *Constitution*, attend their businesse five daies in the weeke: but for the *Saturday* (or *Sabbath*) and the *Lords day*, let them rest themselves, and repaire to Church; that so they may bee trained in the waies of *Godlinesse*. Not that they should devote them wholly unto rest from labour; but onely those set times of both, which were appointed for the meetings of the *Congregation*: Yet this had an exception too, the *Saturday* before *Easter day*, whereupon *Christ* rested in the *Grave*, being exempt from these assemblies and destinated onely unto griefe and fasting.

Lib. 5. cap. 19.

ring. And though these constitutions, in all likelihood, were not writ by *Clemens*, there being many things therein, which could not be in use of a long time after: yet ancient sure they were, as being mentioned in *Epiphanius*; *De Scrip. Ecc.* and as the *Cardinall* confesseth, *à Gracis veteribus magni est Clement. factos* much made of by the ancient *Gretians*, though not of such authority in the Church of *Rome*. How their authority in this point is countinanced by *Ignatius*, we have seene already: and we shall see the same more fully, throughout all this Age. And first, beginning with the *Synod*, held in *Laodicea*, a towne of *Phrygia*, Anno 314. *Can. 16.* there passed a *Canon*, περί τῆ ἐν σαββάτῳ εὐαγγελία μετὰ ἐπιγραφῶν γράφειν ἀναγιγνώσκοντας, touching the reading of the *Gospels*, with the other Scriptures upon the *Saturday* or *Sabbath*; that in the time of *Lent*, there should be no obligation made *εἰ μὴ ἐν σαββάτῳ καὶ κυριακῇ μόνον*, but on the *Saturday*, and the *Lords day* onely; neither that any *Festival* should then be observed in memory of any *Martyrs*, but *Canon 49.* that their names onely should be commemorated, ἐν τοῖς σαββάτοις καὶ κυριακαῖς, upon the *Lords day* and the *Sabbaths*. Nor was this onely the particular will of those two and thirty Prelates, there assembled; it was the practise generally of the *Easterne Churches*; and of some Churches of the west. For in the Church of *Millaine*, which, as before I sayd, in some certaine things, followed the Churches of the *East*; it seemes the *Saturday* was held in a free esteeme, and joyned together with the *Sunday*. *Craftino die Sabbato, & dominico, de orationis ordine dice-* *De Sacrament.* *mus*; To morrow being *Saturday*, and on the *Lords* *Lib. 4. cap. 6.* *day*, we will speake unto you concerning prayer; as *S. Ambrose* hath it. And probably his often mention of *yesterday*, or *hesternus dies* remembred in the former Section, may have relation to the joynt observance of these two dayes: and so may that, which is reported then out of *S. Chrysostome* and *S. Cyril* *Easterne Doctors* both. Sure I am *Socrates* counts both dayes for weekly *Festivals*.

vals, ἐν αὐτῇ ἐβδόμῃ τῇ ἐορτῇ Σαββάτου, καὶ Κυριακῇ, and addes ἐν αὐτῇ αἱ συνάξεις καὶ τὰς ἐκκλησίας ἐβδόμη γίνεσθαι, that on them both the Congregation used to be assembled, and the whole Liturgie performed. Which plainly shewes, that in the practise of those Churches they were both regarded, both alike observed. Gregory Nyssen speaks more home and unto the purpose. Some of the people had neglected to come unto the Church upon the *Saturday*; and on the *Sunday* hee thus chides and rebukes them for it.

De Castigatione.

Ποίους γὰρ ὀφθαλμοῖς τὴν κυριακὴν ὁρᾷς, ὃ ἀπιδέσας τὸ σαββάτον, &c.

“ with what face saith the Father, wilt thou looke upon
“ the *Lords day*, which hast dishonoured the *Sabbath*,
“ knowest thou not that these dayes are *sisters*, and that
“ who ever doth despise the one, doth affront the other?

Sisters indeed, and so accounted in those Churches, not onely in regard of the publicke meetings; but in this also that they were both exempt from the *Lenten Fast*; of which, more anon. In the meane time, we may remember how *Saturday*, is by S. Basil, made one of those 4 times, whereon the *Christians* of those parts did assemble weekly, to receive the Sacrament, as before we noted. And finally it is said by Epiphanius, that howsoever it was not so in the Isle of *Cyprus*, which it seemes, held more correspondence with the Church of *Rome*, and *Alexandria*, then those of *Asia*; Yet in some places, ἐν τοῖς σαββάσι συνάξεις ἐπιτελεῖσιν, they used to celebrate the holy Sacrament, and

Expos. fidei Cathol. 24.

“ hold their publicke meetings on the *Sabbath day*. Not that the *Easterne Churches*, or any of the rest which observed that day, were inclined to *Judaisme*; but that they came together on the *Sabbath day*, to worship Iesus Christ the Lord of the *Sabbath*. The Author of the *Homile de semente* hath informed us so. Ἐν ἡμέρῃ σαββάτου συνήχηνεν ὁ νοστῶντες Ἰουδαϊσμοῦ, &c. We are assembled on the
“ *Sabbath* not as infected any whit with *Judaisme*, for
“ with their false *Sabbaths* we have no acquaintance;
but we assemble on the same, τὸν κύριον τῷ σαββάτῳ ἡμεῖς

ἀποστ.

“ προσκυνῶντες, worshipping the Lord of the *Sabbath*, which is *Iesus Christ*. Who was the Authour of this *Homilie*, is not yet discovered, that I can heare of. I know it passeth under the name of *Athanasius*, and generally is ascribed unto him: but I am verily perswaded it was none of his. For besides that is rejected by *Per. Nannius*, in his Epistle dedicatory, prefixt before the workes of that Reverend Prelate: this very passage is sufficient to make cleere the point. This Authour, whosoever he was, speaks of the keeping of the *Sabbath*, or meeting of the congregation on the *Saturday*: which was, it seemes the custome of that place, where the Authour lived. But no such custome was observed in *Alexandria*, whereof Saint *Athanasius* was so long time Bishop: it being evident in *Socrates*, *Eccl. hist. lib. 5. cap. 21.* and so in *Sozomen*, *lib. 7. cap. 19.* that the *Alexandrians* had no ecclesiasticall assemblies on the *Saturday*; but were therein conforme to the Church of *Rome*. As for the *Homily* it selfe, we deny it not, but that it is a peece of good antiquity, and credit, written, as I conceive, by some Prelate, of the *Easterne Churches*, where the observance of the *Saturday* was in constant use. But returne unto our story. Put all that hath beene saide together, it will come to this, that whereas in the *Easterne* and the *Westerne Churches*, severall dayes were in *communion*; for Gods publicke service: the *Lords day*, in both places, was of the *Quorum*; and therefore had the greater worship, because more businesse.

(6) As for the *Saturday*, or *Sabbath*, although they held their publicke meetings on the same; yet did they not keepe it like a *Sabbath*. The Fathers of this learned age knew that *Sabbath* had beene abrogated, and profest as much. The Councill of *Laodicea* before remembered, though it ascribe much to this day, in reference to the *Congregations*, then held upon it: yet it condemnes the *Jewish* observations of the same. Οὐδὲ

Ff

χριστιανός

χριστιανὲς ἰουδαΐζειν, καὶ ἐν τῷ σαββάτῳ σχολάζειν &c. It is not
 "fit for Christians, saith the 29. Canon, to Judaize, and doe
 "no manner of worke on the Sabbath dayes, but to pursue
 "their ordinary labours on it. Conceive it to farre forth,
 as they were no impediment to the publicke meetings
 then appointed. And in the close of all, ἐν δὲ αὐτοῖς ἰουδαΐζειν,
 "ἐστὶν ἀνάθεμα χριστοῦ. If any should be found so to play
 "the Jewes, let them be Anathema. So Athanasius also
 stands as strongly for the abrogation of the Jewish Sab-
 bath. Not on the by, but in a whole discourse, writ and
 contrived especially for that end and purpose, entituled
De Sabbato & circumcisione. One might conjecture by
 the title, by coupling of these two together, what his
 meaning was; that he conceived them both, to be of the
 same condition. And in the homily *De semine*, the Au-
 thour tels of the New-moones and the Sabbath, that they
 were vsers unto Christ, and to be in authority till the ma-
 ster came. ΕΛΘΟΝΤΟΣ ΔΕ Τῆ ΔΙΔΑΣΚΑΛΙΑ ΚΑΤΗΓΧΗΘΗ ΟΙ ΠΑΙΔΟΘΥΟΙ,
 "καὶ ἡ πόλις ἀνὰ τελευτὰς τοῦ λυχνος ἐπαύσατο. The Master being
 "come, the *Yfser* grew out of al imployment; the Sun be-
 ing risen once, the lampe was darkened. Two other of the
 Fathers which have said as much, and whereof we have
 spoken in a place more proper; adde Nazianz. *Orat.* 43. S.
Cyril of Hierusalem, Cat. 4. and Epiphanius in the confuta-
 tion of those several hereticks, which held the Sabbath for
 a necessary part of Gods publicke worship; and to be now
 observed, as before it was. Of which kinde, over and a-
 bove the Ebionites, and Cerinthians, which before wee
 spake of; were the Nazareis, in the second Century;
 who, as this Epiphanius tells us, differed both from the
 Jew and Christian. First, from the Jew, in that they did
 beleve in Christ; next from the Christian, διὰ τὸ ἐτι νόμον
 περιτεμεῖσθαι, καὶ τομῇ, καὶ σαββάτῳ, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις, in that they
 "still retaine the law, as Circumcision, and the Sabbath,
 "and such things as those. And those I have the rather
 noted in this place and time, as being, so Saint Anstine
 tels

v. p. 1. chap. 3.

tels us, the Ancestors or Originall of the Symmachiani;
 who held out till this very Age, and stood as much for
 Sabbath and legall ceremonies, as their founders did: *Cont Cresce-*
 whereof consult Saint Ambrose preface to the Galathians. *num* 18.
 Now as these Nazarens, or Symmachiani, had made a
 mixt religion of Jew and Christian; so did another sort
 of heretickes, in these present times, contrive a milcel-
 lany of the Jew and Gentile; Idols, and sacrifices, they
 would not have; and yet they worshipped the fire and
 candle. Τὸ δὲ σαββάτον ἀιδόμενοι, &c. The Sabbath also
 they much revered, and stood upon the difference of
 uncleane and cleane; yet by no meanes would be indu-
 ced, to like of Circumcision. These they called Hypsistarii;
 or rather so those doughty fellows pleased to call
 themselves. Adde here, that it was counted one of the
 great dotages of Appollinaris, and afterwards of all his
 sect, viz. that after the last resurrection every thing
 should be done againe, according to the former law:
 καὶ πάλιν ἡμεῖς περιτεμεῖσθαι, καὶ σαββατίζειν, καὶ βρωμάτων ἀνέ-
 "χεσθαι, &c. That we should be circumcised, and observe
 "the Sabbath, and abstaine from meates, and offer sacri-
 "fice, and finally of Christians become Jewes againe.
 "Then which, saith Basil, who reports it, what can be
 "more absurde, or more repugnant to the Gospel. By
 which it is most plaine and certaine, that though the
 Christians of the East, retained the Saturday for a day of
 publicke meeting; yet they did never meane it to be a Sab-
 bath; reckoning them all for heretickes that so observed
 it.

Basil. epl. 74.

(7) Next let us looke upon the Sunday, what they
 did on that. For though it pleased the Emperour, by his
 royall edict, to permit works of husbandry in the Country;
 and manumissions in the Citties, on that sacred day: yet
 probably there were some pure and pious soules, who
 would not take the benefit of the declaration; or thinke
 them:

themselves beholding to him, for so injurious and profaine a dispensation. This we will search into exactly, that so the truth may be discovered. And first beginning with the Councell of *Eliberis*, (a Towne of *Spaine*) in the beginning of this Age, it was thus decreed. *Si quis in civitate positus, per tres dominicas ecclesiam non accesserit, tanto tempore abstineat, ut correptus esse videatur.* If any inhabitant of the Citties absent himselfe from Church, three *Lords dayes* together, let him be kept so long from the holy Sacrament, that he may seeme corrected for it. Where note, *Si quis in civitate positus*, the *Cannon* reacheth unto such onely, as dwelt in Citties, neere the Church, and had no great businesse: those of the Country being left unto their husbandry, and the like affaires; no otherwise then in the *Emperours Edict*, which came after this. And in the Councell of *Laodicea*, not long after, which cleereley gave the *Lords day* place before the *Sabbath*; it is commanded that the *Christians* should not *Judaize* on the *Sabbath day*, but that they should preferre the *Lords day* before it, and rest thereon from labour, if at least they could, but as *Christians* still. The *Cannon* is imperfect, as it stands in the *Greeke* text of *Binius* edition; no sense to be collected from it. But the translation of *Dionysius Exiguus*, which hee acknowledgeth to be more neere the *Greeke*, then the other two, makes the meaning up. *Diem dominicum preferentes ociari oportet, si modo possint*; referring the *Lords day* before the *Sabbath*, let them rest upon it; if at least they can. And this agreeably both unto *Zonaras*, and *Balsamon*, who doe so report it, [*τὴν δὲ κυριακὴν προτιθέμεναι, ἐν τῇ δυνάμει, σχολάζειν ὡς χριστιανοί*]; nor doubt wee but they saw the truest and most perfect copies. Thus then saith *Zonaras*. It is appointed by this *Canon*, that none abstain from labor on the *Sabbath day*, which plainly was a *Jewish* custome; and an *anathema* layed on those who offend herein.

“ Ἀγρευ

Can. 21.

Can. 29.

“ Ἀγρευ δὲ πρεσβυτερον κατὰ τὴν κυριακὴν, &c. but they are willed to rest from labour, on the *Lords day*, in honour of *In Canon.* the resurrection of our Lord and Saviour. But here *Cunc. Laod.* wee must observe that the *Cannon* addes, ἐν δυνάμει, in case they may. For by the *civill law*, it is precisely ordered, that every man shall rest that day, ἀνευ ἄλλ. γὰρ ἄλλων, the hindes and husband-men excepted. His reason is the very same, with that expressed before in the *Emperours Edict*. Εἰκότως γὰρ ἐν τῇ κυριακῇ ἐργάζεσθαι ἐφίενται, &c. For unto them it is permitted, to worke and tra- vaile on that day, because perhaps if they neglect it they may not find another day so fit and serviceable, for their occasions. The like saith *Balsamon*, and more: but him wee will reserve for the 12 *Century*, at what time he lived. *S. Hierome* long time after this, tels us of his *Egyptian Monkes*, diebus dominicis orationi tantum & lectionibus vacare, that they designed the *Lords day*, wholly, unto prayer, and reading of the holy *Scriptures*; and that they did the like upon other dayes, completis opusculis, when their taske was finished. This plainly shewes that it was otherwise with the *common people*. For what neede *Hierome* have observed it, as a thing notable in his *Monkes*, and peculiar to them; that they spent all the *Lords day* in religious exercises, had other men so done, as well as they. But *Hierome* tels us more than this of *Paula*, a most devout and pious woman, who lived in *Bethlehem*, accompanied with many *Virgins* and poore *Widdomes*, in manner of a Nunnery. Of whom he saith, that every *Lords day* they repared to the Church of God: Et inde pariter revertentes instabant operi distributo, & vel sibi vel cæteris vestimenta faciebant, & after their returne from thence, they set themselves to their taskes, which was the making garments for themselves or others: A thing which questionlesse so good a woman had not done, and much lesse ordered it to be done by others; had it beene then accounted an unlawfull Act.

Ff 3

And

ad Eusebium

And finally Saint *Chrysostome*, though in his popular discourses hee seeme to intimate to the people, that God from the beginning did insinuate to them, that they should set apart, *την μίαν ἡμέραν ἐν τῷ κύκλῳ τῆς ἐβδομάδος*, one day in every weeke to his publicke worship, *Hom. 10. in Gen. &* that he calls upon them often *μίαν τῆς ἐβδομάδος ἡμέραν, καὶ ταυτὴν ὅλην ἀνατίθεναι*, to destinate that one day, and that day *wholy*, unto those employments, as *Hom. 5. in Mat. 1.* yet hee confesseth at the last, that after the dismission of the Congregation, every man might apply himselfe to his lawfull businesse. Onely hee seemes offended with them, that they went presently to the *workes* of their *vocations* assoone as they came out of the house of God; and did not meditate on the Word delivered unto them. Therefore hee wooeth them unto this, that presently upon their comming home, they would take the *Bible* into their hands, and recapitulate with their wives and children, that which had beene delivered from the Word of God: *καὶ τότε τῶν βιωτικῶν ἀπτεσθαι* *λογισμῶν* and afterwards goe about their worldly businesse. As for the time appointed to these publicke exercises, it seemes not to be very long. *Chrysostome* in the place before remembred, saith that it was *μικρὸν τοῦ τῆς ἡμέρας μέρος*, a very small portion of the day: *Origen* more precisely hath laid it out, and limited the same, *ad unam aut duas horas ex die integro*, but to an houre, or two at most; no great space of time. Nor indeed could they hold them long, the Sermons being most times exceeding short, as may appeare by those of the antient Fathers, which are still extant in our hands; and the *Liturgie* not so full, as now it is.

(8) Let it then goe for granted, that such as dwelt in populous Citties, (for of the *Husbandman* there is no question to be made) might lawfully apply themselves to their *severall businesse*, the exercises being ended, and the assembly broken up: may wee conceive it lawfull also.

5a Hom. 3. in
Iohn 3.

Hom. 5. in
Mat. 1.

In Numer.
Hom. 2.

also, for any man to follow his *honest pleasures*, on the remainder of that day; to *feast* it with his friends and neighbours, to *dance*; or sport, or to be merry in a civill manner. There is a little question of it? For *feasting*, first wee must take notice, how execrable a thing it was alwayes held, to fast the *Sunday*: though some now place a great part of their piety, in their fond abstinence on that day. In this respect *Tertullian* tels us touching the *Christians* in his time, that they did hold it an impiety to fast the *Lords day*, *die dominico jejuniū nefas esse ducimus*, as before wee noted. Such an impiety that the very *Montanists*, though otherwise frequent in their *fasts*, did yet except this day and the former *Sabbath*, out of their austerities: as the same Authour doth informe us *adv. Psychicos*. What was *Ignatius* censure of the *Sundayes* Fast, we have seene already. In the declining of the third age arose the *Manichees*, and they revived the former dotage, *Dominica jejunare non possumus, quia Manichæos ob istius diei jejuniā, merito damnamus*. We fast not on the *Lords day*, saith *S. Ambrose*, but rather do condemne the *Manichees* for fasting on it. Now what this Father said, he made good by practise, *Baronius* tels us out of *Paulinus*, who wrote the story of his life, that he did never dine but on the *Saturday*, the *Sunday*, or the memoriall of some *Martyr*: and that upon those dayes, he did not only cherish and releive the poore, *sed & viri clarissimi exciperentur*, but entertained great persons, men of speciall eminence. *Vincentius* Deputy of *Gaul*, and Count *Arbogastis*, are there saide, by name, to have beene often at his table, upon those dayes before remembred: and doubt wee not, but they had all things fit for such eminent persons. The like hath beene affirmed by *S. Austin* also: *Die dominica jejunare scandalum est magnum, &c.* It is a great offence or scandal to fast on the *Lords day*, in these times especially, since the most damnable heresy of the *Manichees* came into the world: who have imposed it on their followers, as the Law of God

De Corona
mihc. 3.

Cap. 15.

Anno 374.

Epl. 86.

ANNO 319.

Conc. Tom. 1.
Can. 18.De heres.
3. 53.Hieros. 75.
n. 33.

"God, and therby made the *Lords day* fast the more abominable. Now for an instance of his entertainments also upon this day, see l. 22. *de civitate dei*. c. 8. This probably occasioned Pope *Meltrades*, who lived in the beginning of this present Century, to publish a decree, *Ne dominica, neve feria quinta jejunaretur*, that no man should presume to fast upon the *Sunday*, or the *Thursday*. Not on the *Sunday*; as the day of the *Resurrection*, to cry downe the *Manichees*: nor on the *Thursday*, as a day of speciall credit amongst the *Gentiles*, the better to comply with them in those perillous times. After arose up one *Eutaelus* (for so I rather choose to call him with the learned *Cardinall*, than yeeld to *Socrates*, who falsly doth impute these follies unto *Eustathius*:) and he would fast the *Sunday* too; but on another ground, on pretence of abstinence. A folly presently condemned in a Provinciall Synod held at *Gangra* of *Paphlagonia*; wherein it was determined thus; *ἐἰ τις διὰ νομίζουμένην ἀσκησιν ἐν τῇ κυριακῇ νηστεύει*, if any fasted on the *Lords day*, on pretence of abstinence, hee should be *anathema*. Next sprung up one *Aerius*, no good *Sundayes* man; but one that went not on so good a ground, as *Eutaelus* did. He stood, good man, upon his *Christian liberty*; and needes must fast upon the *Lords day*, onely because the Church had determined otherwise. Of him *S. Austin* tels us in the generall, that hee cryed downe all settled and appointed fasts, and taught his followers this, that every man might fast as hee saw occasion; *ne videatur sub lege*, lest else hee should be thought to be under the *Law*. More punctually *Epiphanius* tels us, that to expresse this liberty, they used to fast upon the *Sunday*, and feast it (as some doe of late) upon the *Wednesday* and the *Friday*, ancient fasting dayes: *ὅθεν γὰρ αὐτοῖς περιλοτιμῆσαι μάλλον ἐν κυριακῇ νηστεύειν, τετραδικὰ καὶ προσέββλον ἐδίειν* as that authour hath it. Adde that *S. Austin* tells us of this *Aerius*, that amongst other of his heresies, hee taught this for one, *Presbyterium ab Episcopo nulla*

nulla differentia discerni debere, that there should bee no difference betweene *Priests* and *Bishops*; A pregnant evidence, that those who set themselves against the *Hierarchy* of the Church, are the most likely men of all, to overthrow all orders, in the civill state. Now as the *Manichees* did use to fast the *Sunday*, so were they therein imitated by the *Priscillianists*, *manichaorum similimos*, the very pictures of the *Manichees*, as *S. Austin* calls them: save that these last did use to fast on the *Christmasse* also, and therein went beyond their patterne. And this they did, as Pope *Leo* tells us, *quia Christum dominum in vera hominis natura natum esse non credunt*, because they would not be perswaded, that *Christ*, the Lord, had took upon him our humane nature. To meete with these proud sectaries, for such they were, there was a councell called at *Saragossa*; *Cesarea Augusta* the *Latines* call it: wherein the Fathers censured, and anathematized all such as fasted on the *Lords day*, *causa temporis, aut persuasionis, aut superstitionis*; whether it were in reference unto any time, or misperswasion, or superstition, In reference unto any times? this seemes to make the *Sundayes* fast unlawfull in the time of *Lent*, and so it was accounted without all question. For this looke *Epiphanius Expos. fid. Cathol. Num. 22*, *S. Ambros. de Elia & jejuniis, cap. 10*, *S. Hierome epl. ad Lucinum*, *S. Chrysostome Hom. 11. in Gen. 2*. In two of which Foure fathers, *Chrysostome* and *Ambrose* the *Saturday* is excepted also. *S. Austin Epl. 86. Concil. Agathens. can. 12. Aurelianens. 4. can. 2. Humberti Resp. ad libellum Niceta*, and last of all *Rupertus*, who lived in the beginning of the 12. Century, to descend no lower; who withall tells us, that from the first *Sunday* in *Lent* unto *Easter* day, are 43. dayes just, whereof the Church fasteth onely the 36. it being prohibited by the Canon to fast upon the day of the *Resurrection*. *Vt igitur nostri solennitas jejuniij dominico magis coaptetur exemplo, quatuor dies qui hanc dominicam precedunt, super-*

Epl. 86.

Epl. 93. c. 4.

Con. Tom. 1.
can. 2.De divinis
Officiis. 4. c. 9.

“superadditi sunt. Therefore, saith he, that the solemnity of our fast might come more neere the Lords example; the 4. dayes which occurre betweene *Shrovetuesday* and the first *Sunday* in *Lent*, were added to make up the number. But to come backe unto the times wherebefore we left, partly in detestation of the *heretickes* before remembered, but principally in honour of the *resurrection*; the councell held at *Carthage* Anno. 398. did decree it thus. *Qui die dominico studiose jejunat, non credatur Catholicus,* that he which of set purpose did fast the *Sunday* should be held no *Catholicke*.

Can. 64.

(9) For *honest recreations* next, I finde not any thing to perswade mee that they were not lawfull: since those which in themselves were of no good name, no otherwise were prohibited in this present Age; then as they were an hinderance to the *publicke service* of the Church. For so it was adjudged in the Councell of *Carthage*, before remembered. *Qui die solenni, pratermissa ecclesia solenni conventu, ad spectacula vadit, excommunicetur.* He which upon a solemn day “shall leave the service of the Church, to goe unto the “common shewes, be hēe excommunicate. Where; by the way, this *Canon* reacheth unto those also, who are offenders in this kinde, as well on any of the other *festivals*, and *solemne dayes*, as upon the *Sunday*: and therefore both alike considerable in the present businesse. But hereof, and the *spectacula* here prohibited, wee shall have better opportunity to speake in the following Age. And here it is to bee observed, that as *Saint Chrysostome*, before, confessed it to be lawfull for a man to looke unto his worldly businesse, on the *Lords day*, after the congregation was dismissed: so herē, the Fathers seeme to dispence with those, who went unto the *common shewes*, being worldly pleasures, though otherwise of no good name, as before wee said; in case they did not pretermitt Gods *publicke service*.
Therefore

Can. 38.

Therefore we safely may conclude, that they conceived it not unlawful for any man to follow his honest pleasures, such as were harmeles in themselves, and of good report, after the breaking up of the congregation. Of this sort questionlesse, were *shooting*, and all *manly exercises*, *walking abroad*, or *riding forth* to take the aire, *civill discourse*, good company, and *ingenuous mirth*: by any of the which the spirits may be quickened, and the body strengthened. Whether that *dancing* was allowed, is a thing more questionable; and probably as the *dauncings* were in the former times, it might not be suffered: nay, which is more, it had been infinite scandall to the Church, if they had permitted it. For we may please to know, that in the *dancings* used of old, throughout the principal Citties of the *Roman Empire*, there was much impurity and immodesty; such as was not to be beheld by a *Christian eye*. Sometimes they danced *starke naked*, and not privately alone, but in publick feasts, This *Cicero* objects against *Lucius Piso*, *quod in convivio saltaret nudus*; the same he also casts in the teeth of *Verres*: and *Deiotarus* was accused of the like immodesty, whereof perhaps he was not guilty. As for the *Women*, they had armed themselves with the like strange impudency: and though they danced not naked, in the open streetes, yet would be hired to attend naked at publick feasts; and after prostitute themselves unto those guests, for entertainment of the which, they were thither brought, whereof see *Athenaus Dipsos* l. 12. & *Sueton. in Tiberio*, c. 42, 43. And for their *dancings* in the publicke, they studied all those cunning and provoking Arts, by which they might entice young men to wantonnes, and inflame their lusts; using lascivious gestures, and mingling with their dances most *immodest songs*: nay, which is more than this, sometimes of purpose laying open to the eye and view of the spectatour, those parts which womanhood and common honesty would not have uncovered. *Saint Ambrose* so describes them, and from him wee take it.

Orat. in Pis.
Art. 3. in
verrem.

De virginib.
lib. 3.

De Elia &
jejunio. c. 18.

Athen. Dipnos.
l. 12. c. 13.

Juvenal. Sat.
6. c. 11.

it. *An quicquam est tam primum ad libidines, quam inconditis motibus, ea quæ natura abscondit, vel disciplina velavit, membrorum aperta nudare, ludere oculis, rotare cervicem, comam spargere?* What, saith he, is of greater force
“to excite mens lust, then by unseemely motion to make
“bare those parts, which either nature hath hidden, or
“education taught us how to cover; to sling about their
“neckes, and to tosse about their haire in a wanton
“manner. And in another place he is more particular. *Mulieres in plateis inverecundos sub conspectu adolescentulorum intemperantium choros ducunt, jactantes comam, trahentes tunicas, scissa amictus, nuda lacertos, plaudentes manibus, personantes vocibus, saltantes pedibus, irritantes in se juvenum libidines motu histrionico, perulanti oculo, dedecoroso ludibrio.* The women, saith the father,
“even in the sight of wanton and lascivious youthes,
“daunce immodest daunces, tossing about their hayre,
“drawing aside their coates, that so they might lay open
“what should not be scene; their garments open in many
“places for that purpose also, their armes quite bare:
“clapping their hands, capering with their feete, chanting
“obscene and filthy songs (for afterwards hee
“speakes *de obscænis cantibus*) finally stirring up the lusts
“of ungoverned men, by those uncomely motions, wanton
“lookes, and shamefull spectacles. Saint Basil in his tract *de luxu & ebrietate*, describes them much after the
“same manner; whereof see that father. Yet thinke not
“that all women were so lewdly given, or so immodest in
“their dancings: but onely common women, which most
“used those arts to increase their custome; such as were
“mustered up by *Strato* King of the *Sdonians*, to attend
“his banquetings; or such loose trulls as *Messalina*, and others
“mentioned in the Poet, who practised those lascivious
“dances, to inflame their paramours. Now to these
“common publicke dancings, the people in the *Roman*
“Empire had beene much accustomed; especially in their
“height

people in the *Roman* Empire had beene much accustomed; especially in their height of fortune, wherein they were extreamey riotous and luxurious. And unto these, too many innocent soules, both young men and women, in the first ages of the *Church*, used to repaire sometimes for their recreation, onely to looke upon the sport; and seeing those uncomely gestures, and uncivill sightes, went backe, sometimes possessed with unchaste desires and loose affections, which might perhaps breake out at last, in dishonest actions. This made the Fathers of this Age, and of some that followed, inyeigh, as generally against all dancings, as most unlawfull in themselves; so more particularly, against the sport it selfe, and the beholding of the same, upon those dayes, which were appointed to Gods worship. And to these kinde of dancings, and to none but these, must wee referre those declamations, which are so frequent in their writings, whether in reference to the thing, or unto the times. Two onely in this Century, have spoken of dancing, as it reflects upon the day. Saint *Chrysostome*, and *Ephrem Syrus*. Saint *Chrysostome*, though last in time, shall be first in place, *De elemos. orat. 2. T. 6.*
“*Διὰ τὸ τοῦ καὶ προσήκει αὐτῶν τιμᾶν, &c.* Therefore, saith he,
“we ought to solemnise, this day with spirituall honour,
“not making riotous feasts thereon, swimming in wine,
“*ἢ μεθυσίας, ἢ μεθυσίας*, drinking to drunkenesse, or
“in wanton dancings; but in releeving of our poore and distressed brethren. Where note that I have rendred
“*χορεύοντες*, not simply, *dancing*, but *wanton dancing*; according to the nature of the word; which signifieth such
“*dancing*; as was mixt with songs, according to the
“fashion at this time in use, *χορεύω, choros agito, salto, tripudio, proprie cum cantu*, as in the *lexicon*: and for the
“quality of the songs, which in those times they used in
“*dancing*, that is shewne before. So that not *dancing*, simply, but *immodest dancing*, such as was then in use, is by
“him prohibited. And to that purpose, *Ephrem Syrus*, if
“the

Stephan. in
Χόρος.

serm. de dieb.
Festiu.

the worke be his. *Festivitates dominicas honorare contem-*
"dite, &c. Endeavour earnestly, saith he, to honour the
"Lords day, not in a worldly sort, but after a spirituall
"manner, not as the *Gentiles* keepe their feasts, but as
Christians should. Amongst which customes of the
Gentiles that are there forbidden, one and the principall is
this; *non choreas ducamus*, that we leade no dances; that is
no such immodest and unseemely *dancings*, as were most
practised by the *Gentiles*, and could not stand with that
discreete behaviour, which pertained to *Christians*. This
evident by that which Saint *Ambrose* tells us. *Notum est*
omnibus, nugaces & turpes saltationes ab episcopis solere
compesci: it is well knowne, saith hee, how carefully
the Bishops doe restraine all toying, light, and beastly
kinde of dances. So that in case the *dauncings* be not
toying, light, nor beastly, as were the *daunces* of the
Gentiles, whom they reprehended; neither the fathers did
intend them, nor the rulers of the Church restraine
them.

(10.) For the Imperiall constitutions of this present
Age, they strike all of them upon one and the selfe
same string, with that of *Constantine*, before remem-
bred: save that the Emperour *Gratian*, *Valentinian* and
Theodosius, who were all partners in the Empire, set out
an edict to prohibit all publicke shewes upon the Sun-
day. *Nullus, die Solis, spectaculum prebeat, nec divinam*
venerationem, consecrata solemnitate, confundat. Such was the
Letter of the Law: which being afterwards enlarged
by *Theodosius* the younger, who lived in the next Cen-
tury, wee shall meete with there. The other *Edicts*,
which concerne the businesse, that is now in hand, were
onely explanations and additions, unto that of *Constan-*
tine: one in relation to the matter, the other in refe-
rence to the time. First, in relation to the matter,
whereas all *Judges* were restrained by the law of *Con-*
stantine, from sitting on that day, in the open Court;
there

De Elia &
jeinnio c. 18.

Cod. Theod.

Cod. Theod.

there was a clause, now added, touching *Arbitrators*:
that none should arbitrate any litigious cause, or take
cognizance of any pecuniary businesse, on the Sunday;
Debitum publicum, privatumve, nullus efflagret; nec
apud ipsos quidem arbitros, vel in judicijs flagitatos, vel
sponte delectos, ulla sit agnitio iurgiorum: Let no man sue
"upon the Sunday, for any publicke or private debt: nei-
"ther let any Arbitrator, whether appointed in open
"Court, or otherwise chosen by the parties; take cog-
"nizance on the same, of any brangling and litigious
"businesse: a penalty being inflicted upon them
that transgressed herein. This published by the same
three Emperours, *Honorius*, and *Evodius*, being that
yeare *consuls*, which was in Anno 384. as the former
was. Afterwards *Valentinian* and *Valens* Emperours
were pleased to adde, *neminem christianum ab exacto-*
ribus conveniri volumus; that they would have no
Christians brought upon that day, before the officers of
the *Exchequer*. In reference to the time, it was thought
good by *Valentinian*, *Theodosius* and *Arcadius*, all three
Emperours together, to make some other Festivalls ca-
pable of the same exemption. For whereas formerly all
the time of *harvest* and of *Autumne*, was exempt from
pleadings; as that the *Calends* of *Ianuary* or the *new-*
years day, as now we call it, had antiently beene ho-
noured with the same immunity: these added thereun-
to, the dayes on which the two great Citties of *Rome* and
Constantinople had beene built; the seaven dayes before
Easter day and the seaven that followed; together with
every Sunday in its course; yea and the birth-dayes of
themselvcs, with those on which each of them had be-
gan his Empire: *Sanctos quoque Pascha dies qui septeno*
vel precedunt numero vel sequuntur in eadem observatione
numeramus: nec non & dies Solis (so they call it all) *qui*
repetito inter se calculo revolvuntur. Pare m necesse est haberi
reuerentiam etiam nostris diebus, qui vel lucis auspicio, vel
imperij

Cod. Theod.
48. tit. 8.

Cod. Theod.
1. 2. tit. 8.

imperiis ordinis promulget. It is our pleasure that the holy note of Easter, for seven dayes space before and seven dayes after, should be observed in the same manner: as all the *Sundays* also in their severall order and succession. It is meete also that the like reverence be afforded to those dayes, in which we either were first borne, or began our empires. Dated V I I. Id. Aug. Timasius and Promotus Consuls, which was 389. So that in this regard, the sacred day had no more priviledge than the civill, but were all alike; the Emperours day as much respected, as the Lords.

(II) Now as the dayes were thus established, so was the forme of worship on those dayes established, brought unto more perfection than it had beene formerly: when their assemblies were prohibited, and their meetings dangerous, or at least not so safe and free as in this fourth Century. For in these times, if not before, the Priests that waited at the Altar, attired themselves in a distinct habit at the ministration, from what they used to wear on other dayes; the colour white, and the significancy thereof to denote that holines, wherewith the Priests of God ought to be apparelled: such as the Surplice now in use in the Church of England. Witnesse S. Hierome for the West, that in the ministration, they used a different habit from that of ordinary times. *Religio divina alterum habitum habet in ministerio, alterum in usu vitæque communis*. So for the generall he informes us. For the particular, next, in a reply unto Pelagius, who it seemes disliked it: he askes him what offence it could be to God, that Bishops, Priests, Deacons, or those of any other inferiour order, in administratione sacrificiorum candida veste processant, did in the ministration of the Eucharist, bestire themselves in a white Vesture. And so Saint Chrysostome for the East, telling the Priests of Antioch, unto how high a calling the Lord had called them; and how great power they had to repell unworthy men from the Lords Table; addes,

In Ezech. 44.

Adv. Pelag.
lib. 1.

addes that they were to reckon that for their Crowne and glory, and not that they were priviledged to goe about the Church in a white garment. Τὸ τοῦ μὲν ἀξία, τὸ τοῦ εἶναι ἀπαι: ἢ ἢ να λεῖν χιτῶνισκον, καὶ ἀποσιλβοντα περιβαλλόμενοι Hom. 8; in Math. 26. Nor did the Priests onely thus avow his calling. The people wanted not some outward signes and ceremonies, wherewith to honour their Redeemer; and testifie unto the world that they were his servants; and that by bowing of the knee, which in those parts and times was the greatest signe, both of humility and subjection. Bowing the knee, in honour of their Saviour, at the name of Iesus; and reverently kneeling or adoring, when they received the Sacrament of the Lords Supper. S. Ambrose tells us of the first, in his sixth Booke de opere Hexaemeri, where speaking of the office of each severall member, he makes the bowing of the knee at the Name of Iesus, the proper duty of that part. *Flexibile genu quo pra cæteris domini mitigatur offensa, &c.* The knee, saith he, is flexible, by which especially the anger of the Lord is mitigated, his displeasure pacified, and his grace obtained. *Hoc enim patris summi erga filium donum est, ut in nomine IESV omne genu curvetur.* For this, saith he, did the most Mighty Father give as a speciall gift, to his onely sonne, that at the name of Iesus every knee should bow. This makes the matter plaine enough, we neede goe no further, yet somewhat to this purpose may be seene also in S. Hierome in his Comment on the 46. of Esay, which reverence as they used at other times, so most especially may they be thought to have observed it in the publicke meetings of the Congregation: men testifying (as our Canon hath it) by these outward ceremonies and gestures, their inward humility, Christian resolution, and due acknowledgement, that the Lord Iesus Christ the true and eternall Sonne of God is the onely Saviour of the world, in whom alone all the mercies, graces, and promises of God to mankind for this life and the

Hom. 8; in
Math. 26.

cap. 9.

De Sp. Sto.
lib 3. cap. 12.

Hom 3. in
Ephes.

Defens. Art. 8

Cont. Faust.
Manich lib.
20. cap. 23.

life to come, are fully and wholly comprized. For when
any or adoring at the instant of receiving the holy Sacra-
ment, the same. S. Ambrose on those words *Adoramus*
footstool, doth expound it thus. *Per scabellum pedum in*
religione, per terram autem caro Christi, quam homines quodam
in mysterijs adoramus. By the footstool here, we are to
understand the Earth, and by the Earth the flesh of
Christ, which wee adore in the holy mysteries: which
plainly shewes what was the custome of these times.
And so S. Chrysostome tells his Audience, that the great
King hath made ready his Table, [*ταράξα τὰς ἐκκλησίας*
αὐτῶν] the Angels ministering at the same, the King him-
selfe in presence, why then stand they still? In case
they are provided of a wedding garment, why do they not
fall downe, and then communicate? *Ἀλλὰ καθὰ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν*
ἀντιπροσώπων ἡμετέρας. Adora & communica as the Latin
renders it. Where if the word adoration seeme a little
strange, we may take notice that it is so used by Bishop
Iewel. The sacrament, saith he in that sort i.e. in respect of
that which they signifie, and not in respect of that which they
are in themselves, are the flesh of Christ and are so under-
stood, and believed and adored. And in another place of the
same 8. Article, *Nor doe we onely adore Christ, as very*
God; but we doe also worship and reverence the Sacrament,
and holy mysteries of Christs body: yet so that we adore them
not with godly honour, as we doe Christ himselfe: See more
hereof in Cyril, Bishop of Hierusalem, Catech. 5. where
adoration is expressly mentioned: and for the close of all,
that which is told us by S. Austin, how in his time the
Gentiles charged it on the Christians, that they did wor-
ship Ceres and Bacchus; which was occasioned questi-
onlesse by reason of their kneeling or adoring, when they
received the bread and wine in the holy Sacrament. Not
that this use of kneeling or adoring was not more ancient
in the Church, for such a custome may be gathered both
out of Origen and Tertullian, in the age before: but that
this

this age affords us the most cleare and perfect evidence,
for the proofe thereof. And howsoever in these times,
and many Ages following after, the people used not to
stand at the publicke prayers, both on the Lords day, and
the Pentecost, as before I noted: yet on those dayes, if
they received the blessed Sacrament, they either used to
bow their bodies, or prostrate themselves, or make some
other kinde of Adoration, of no lesse reverence than knee-
ling which comes all to one. So for the musicke used in
the Congregation, it grew more exquisite in these times
than it had beene formerly: that which before was onely
a melodious kind of pronounciation, being now or-
dered into a more exact and artificiall harmonie. This
change was principally occasioned by a Canon of the
Councell of Laodicea, in the first entrance of this age,
For where before it was permitted unto all promiscu-
ously, to sing in the Church; it was observed that in such
dissonancie of voyces, and most of them unskillfull in the
notes of musicke, there was no small jarring and unplea-
sant sounds. This Councell thereupon ordained, *μηδὲν*
πλεον τῶν κανονικῶν ψαλμῶν, &c. ἑτέρας τινὰς ψάλλον ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ, *conc. Laodic.*
that none should sing hereafter in the Congregation, but
such as were Canonically appointed to it, and skilfull in
it. By meanes whereof before the shutting up of
this fourth Century, the musicke of the Church, became
very perfect and harmonious: *suavi & artificiosa voce*
cantata, as S. Austin tells us. So perfect and harmonious, *confess. l. 10.*
that it did worke exceedingly, on the affections of the
hearers, and did *movere animos ardentius in flammam pie-*
tatis, inflame their mindes with a more lively flame of
piety; taking them prisoners by the eares, and so con-
ducting them unto the glories of Gods kingdome, S.
Austin attributes a great cause of his conversion, to the
powers thereof, calling to minde those frequent teares *ibid.*
quas fudit ad cantus ecclesie tue, which had beene drawne
from him by this sacred musicke; by which his soule was
humbled,

humbled, and his affections raised to an height of godliness. The like he also tells us, in his ninth Booke of *Confessions*, and sixth Chapter. Nor doubt wee but it did produce the same effect, on divers others; who comming to the Churches, as he then did, to be partakers of the musicke, return'd prepared in minde, and well disposed in their intentions, to be converted unto God. Now that the Church might be frequented at the times appointed, and so all secret *Conventicles* stopped, in these divided times, wherein so many heresies did domineare, and that the itching eares of men, might not perswade them to such Churches: where God had not placed them, so to discourage their owne proper minister: it pleased the Fathers in the Councell of *Saragossa*, Anno 368. or thereabout to decree it thus. First, *Ne latibulis cubiculorum & montium habitent qui in suspicionibus perseverent*: "that none who were suspected (of *Priscillianisme*, "which was the humour that then reigned, should lurke "in secret corners, either in houses or in hills; but follow the example and direction of the Priests of God. And secondly, *ad alias villas, agendorum conventuum causa non convenient*; that none should goe to other "places, under pretence of joyning there to the assembly, but keepe themselves unto their owne. Which prudent *Constitutions*, upon the selfesame pious grounds, are still preserved amongst us in the Church of *England*.

(12) Thus doe we see upon what grounds the *Lords day* stands; on *custome* first, and voluntary consecration of it to *religious meetings*; that *custome* countenanced by the authority of the Church of God, which tacitely approved the same; and finally confirmed and ratified by *Christian Princes*, throughout their Empires. And as the day, so *rest* from labours, and restraint from businesse, upon that day, received its greatest strength from the supreme *magistrate*, as long as hee retained that power which

which to him belong; as after from the *Canons* and decrees of *Councells*, the *Decretals* of *Popes*, and orders of particular *Princes*, when the sole managing of Ecclesiastical affaires was committed to them. I hope it was not so with the former Sabbath, which neither took original from custome, that people being not so forward to give God a day, nor required any countenance or authority from the Kings of *Israel*, to confirm and ratifie it. The Lord had spoke the word, that hee would have one day in heaven: precisely the seventh day from the worlds creation, to be a day of rest unto all his people: which sayd, there was no more to doe, but gladly to submit and obey his pleasure, *nec quicquam reliquum erat, prater obsequium gloriam*, in the greatest Prince. And this done all at once, not by degrees, by little and little, as he could see the people affected to it, or as hee found it fittest for them; like a probation law made to continue till the next session, and then on further liking, to hold good for ever: but by a plaine and peremptory order that it should bee so, without further tryall. But thus it was not done in our present businesse. The *Lords day* had no such command that it should be sanctified, but was left plainly to Gods people, to pitch on this, or any other, for the publicke use. And being taken up amongst them, and made a day of meeting in the congregation, for religious exercises; yet for 300. yeares there was neither Law to binde them to it, nor any rest from labour or from worldly businesse, required upon it. And when it seemed good unto *Christian Princes*, the nursing Fathers of Gods Church, to lay restraints upon their people, yet at the first they were not generall: but onely thus, that certaine men, in certaine places, should lay aside their ordinary and dayly workes, to attend Gods service in the Church; those whose employments were most royle-

some, and most repugnant to the true nature of a *Sabbath*, being allowed to follow and pursue their labours, because most necessary to the Common-wealth. And in the following times, when as the *Prince* and *Prelate*, in their severall places, indeavoured to re-
 straine them from that also which formerly they had permitted, and interdicted almost all kinde of bodily labour upon that day; it was not brought about without much struggling, and on opposition of the people: more than a thousand yeares being past, after *Christs ascension*, before the *Lords day* had attained that state in which now it standeth; as will appeare at full in the following story. And being brought unto that state, wherein now it stands, it doth not stand so firmly and on such sure grounds, but that those powers which raised it up, may take it lower if they please, yea take it quite away, as unto the time, and settle it on any other day, as to them seemes best, which is the doctrine of some Schoole men, and diverse Protestant writers of great name and credit in the world. A power which no man will presume to say, was ever chalenged by the *Jewes*, over the *Sabbath*. Besides, all things are plainly contrary in these two dayes, as to the purpose and intent of the institution. For in the *Sabbath*, that which was principally aimed at, was rest from labour, that neither they nor any that belonged unto them, should doe any manner of worke upon that day, but sit still, and rest themselves. Their meditating on Gods Word, or on his goodnesse, manifest in the worlds Creation, was to that an *accessory*: and as for reading of the *Law* in the Congregation, that was not taken up in more than a thousand yeares after the *Law* was given; and being taken up, came in by ecclesiasticall ordinance onely, no divine authority. But in the institution of the *Lords day*, that which was principally aimed at, was the performance of religious and Christian duties,

ties; hearing the Word, receiving of the Sacraments, praising the Lord for all his mercies, and praying to him joyntly with the Congregation, for the continuance of the same Rest and cessation from the workes of labour, came not in till afterwards; and then but as an accessory to the former duties; and that not settled and established in a thousand yeares, as before was said; when all the proper and peculiar duties of the day, had beene at their perfection a long time before. So that if we regard either institution or the authority by which they were so instituted; the end and purpose at the which they principally aymed, or the proceedings in the settling and confirming of them: the difference will be found so great; that of the *Lords day*, no man affirme in sence and reason, that it is a *Sabbath*; or so to be observed, as the *Sabbath* was. And certainly if not before, yet now at least it it had beene seasonable, to have translated the *Lords day*; into the nature of a *Sabbath*; had it at all beene thought a necessary duty, that it should be so. Before the Church consisted much of servants, who being obnoxious to their Masters, could not so fitly lay aside their businesse, to attend the publicke service of the Congregation: but needes it must have brought some scandall unto the Gospel; and no small danger unto those who did professe it. But now, when peace and full tranquillity was restored unto the Church, and that almost all people generally had embraced religion: how easie had it beene to have imposed on all men equally, a restraint from labours, that so all of them might together, apply themselves wholly to religious exercises, the servant without feare of his Masters anger, the Master without danger of being betrayed by a faithlesse servant. A pregnant evidence, that neither in these times, nor in those before, the Christians ever

made it a matter of conscience, to forbear their labours upon any day; further than as they were restrained by supreme authority: which licencing the most toyle-some labours, on this day, and restraining those which were most easie: most plainly manifested, that the *Lords day* was not meant for a *Sabbath day*.

CHAP



CHAP. III.

The great improvement of the *Lords day*, in the fift and sixt *Ages*, make it not a *Sabbath*.

(1) In what estate the *Lords day* stood in S. Austines time. (2) Stage-playes, and publike shewes prohibited on the *Lords day*, and the other holy dayes, by Imperiall Edicts. (3) The base and beastly nature of the Stage-playes at those times in use. (4) The barbarous, and bloody quality of the Spectacula, or shewes at this time prohibited. (5) Neither all civill businesse, nor all kind of pleasures, restrained on the *Lords day*, by the Emperour Leo; as some give it out. (6) The French and Spaniards in the sixt Age, begin to Iudaize about the *Lords day*: and of restraint of husbandry, on that day, in that age first made. (7) The so much cited Canon of the Councell of Mafcon, proves no *Lords-day-Sabbath*. (8) Of publicke honours done in these Ages, to the *Lords day*, by Prince and Prelate. (9) No evening service on the *Lords day*, till these present ages. (10) Of publicke orders now established, for the better regulating of the *Lords day-meetings*. (11) The *Lords day* not more reckoned of, than the greater festivals: and of the other holy dayes, in these ages instituted. (12) All businesse and recreation not by Law prohi-

prohibited, are in themselves as lawfull on the Lords day, as on any other.

(1)



W E are now come unto the times, wherein the Church began to settle; having with much adoe got the better hand of *Gentilisme*, and mastered those stiffe heresies of the *Arians*, *Macedonians*, and such other as descended from them: Vnto those times, wherein the troubles which before distracted her peace and quiet, being well appeased; all things began to grow together in a perfect harmony: what time the faithfull being united, better than before, in points of judgement, became more uniform in matters of devotion; and in that uniformity did agree together, to give the *Lords day* all the honour of an *holy festivall*. Yet was not this done all at once but by degrees: the fift and sixt Centuries being fully spent, before it came unto that height, which hath since continued. The *Emperours* and the *Prelates* in these times, had the same affections; both earnest to advance this day above all other: and to the *Edicts* of the one, and Ecclesiasticall constitutions of the other, it stands indebted for many of those priviledges and exemptions, which it still enjoyeth. But by degrees, as now I said, and not all at once: For in *S. Austins* time, who lived in the beginning of this fift Century it was no otherwise with the *Lords day* then as it was before, in the former Age, accounted one of those let dayes and probably the principall, which was designed and set a part for Gods publicke worship. Amongst the writings of that Father, which are his unquestionably, we finde not much that doth conduce to our present businesse: but what we finde, we shall communicate, with as much brevity

brevity as we can. The *Sundayes* fast he doth abhominat, as a publicke scandall, *Quis deum non offendit, si velic* *cum scandalo totius ecclesia, die dominico jejunare.* The exercise of the day, he describes in brieft, in this forme that followeth. *Venit Pascha, atque ipso die dominico, mane, frequens populus presens erat. Facto silentio, divinarum Scripturarum lecta sunt solennia, &c.* Easter was come, and on the *Lords day* in the morning, the people had assembled themselves together. All being silent and attent, those lessons out of holy Scripture, which were appointed for the time, were read unto them. When wee were come unto that part of the publicke service, which was allotted for the *Sermon*, I spake unto them what was proper for the present festivall, and most agreeable to the time: Service being done I tooke the man a long to dinner, (a man hee meanes, that had recovered very strangely in the Church that morning) who told us all the story of those sad calamities, which had befallen him. This is not much, but in this little there are two things worth our observation. First, that the *Sermon* in those times, was not accounted either the onely, or the principall part of Gods publicke service; but onely had a place in the *Common Liturgie*: which place was probably the same, which it still retaines, *post Scripturarum solennia*, after the reading of the *Gospell*. Next that it was not thought unlawfull in this Fathers time, to talke of *secular* and humane affaires upon this day, as some now imagine; or to call friends or strangers to our *Table*, as it is supposed: *S. Austin* being one of so strict a life, that hee would rather have put off the invitation, and the story both, to another day; had hee so conceived it. Nor doth the Father speake of *Sunday*, as if it were the onely festivall that was to be observed of a *Christian* man. Other festivities there were which hee tells us of. First generally, *Nos quoque & dominicum diem, & Pascha, solenniter celebramus, & quolibet alias Christi.* *cont. Adimant. c. 16.*

Epl. 118.

Christians didum festinare. The Lords day, Easter
and all other Christian festivals were alike to him. And
he enumerates some particulars too, the resurrection of
our Lord, and his coming again, and the coming of the
holy Ghost, which constantly were celebra-
ted, *anniversaria solemnitate*. Not that there were
no other festivals than observed in the Christian Church,
but that those four were reckoned to be *Apostolical*,
and had been generally received in all ages past. As for
the Sacrament, it was not tyed to any day, but was ad-
ministered indifferently, upon all alike, except it were
in some few places, where it had been restrained to one
day alone. *Alij quotidie communicant corpori & sanguini
dominico, alij certis diebus accipiunt: alibi Sabbato tantum
& dominico, alibi tantum dominico*, as he there informes us.
“Some, saith the Father, doe every day communicate,
“receiving the Lords body and blood; and others onely
“upon certaine and appointed times: in some parts
“onely on the Sabbath, and upon the Sunday, in
“others on the Sunday onely. As for those works
ascribed unto him, which either are not his
or at least are questionable: they informe us thus.
The tract *de relictitudine Cathol. conversationis*, adviseth us
to be attent and silent all the time of Divine Service, not
telling tales, nor falling into jarres and quarels, as be-
ing to answer such of us as offend therein, for a double
fault: *Dum nec ipse verbum Dei audit, nec alios audire
permittit*, as neither hearkening to the Word of God
our selves, nor permitting others. In the 251. Sermon,
inscribed *De tempore*, we are commanded to lay aside all
worldly businesses, in *solemnitatibus sanctorum, & maxi-
me in dominicis diebus*, upon the festivals of the Saints,
“but the Lords day specially: that wee may be the rea-
dier for divine employments. Where note, that who-
ever made the Sermon, it was his purpose, that on the
Saints dayes men were to forbear all worldly businesses,
and

and not upon the Lords day onely, though on that especi-
ally. And in the same it is affirmed, that the Lords day was
“instituted by the Doctors of the Church, Apostles and
“Apostolical men; the honours of the Jewish Sabbath being
“by them transferred unto it. *Sancti ecclesie Doctores om-
nem Judaici Sabbatismi gloriam in illam transferre decreve-
runt*. Particularly it is enjoined, *ut a vespere diei Sabbati,
usque in vespere diei dominici, sequestrati a rurali opere,
&c. solo divino cultui vacemus*: that from the Saturday
“evening untill Sunday night, men should abstaine
“from husbandry, and all other businesse, and onely give
themselves to the service of God. It seemes, some used
to hunt on the Lords day then; for there it is prohibited as
a devilish exercise: *Nyllus [in die dominico] in venatione
se occupet, & diabolico mancipetur officio*, with command
enough. Nay in the 244. of those *de tempore*, it is injoy-
ned above all things, with an *ante omnia*, that no man
meddle with his wife, either upon the Lords day, or the
other holy dayes. *Ante omnia quoties dies dominicus, aut
alia festivitates veniunt, uxorem suam nullus agnoscat*;
which I the rather note, though not worth the noting,
that those who are possessed with so poore a fancie, (and
some such there be) would please to be as carefull of the
holy dayes, as of the Sundayes, being alike expressed in
the Prohibition. One may conjecture easily both by the
stile, and by the state of things then being, in the Chri-
stian Church, that neither of these Sermons (not to say
any thing of the rest which concerne us not) could be
writ by Austin; the latter, every thing therein considered,
by no man of wisdom.

(2) I say as things then were in the Christian Church,
that Sermon was not likely to be Saint Austins. It had
been too much rashnesse, in him, to restraine men from
husbandry, the Emperours Edict which permitted it, be-
ing still in force: or to prohibit hunting, being in it selfe
a lawfull sport; when such as in themselves were ex-
treamely

mainly still, and an occasion of much sinne, were
not yet put downe. The *Circus* and *Theater* were fre-
quented hitherto, as well upon the *Lords day* as on any
other: and they were not to be removed, before it could
be seasonable, to inhibit a lawfull pleasure. Some what
to this effect, was done in the Age before: the Empe-
rours *Gratian*, *Valentinian*, and *Theodosius*, having made
a law, that no man should exhibit any publicke shew up-
on the *Sunday*, as before we noted. But this prevailed
not a little. And thereupon the Fathers of the Coun-
cell of *Carthage*, in the first yeare of this fift Centurie
did then and there decree by publicke order, to make pe-
tition to the Emperour then being: *ut spectacula thea-
trorum, ceterarumque ludorum, die dominica, vel ceteris
religionis Christiane diebus, saltemibus, amoveantur*.
Their suite was double, first that the shewes exhibited on
the theaters, and other plaies then used, might no more be
suffered on the *Lords day*, or any other festival of the
Christian Church, especially upon the *Octave* of the feast
of *Easter*, what time the people used to goe in greater
numbers unto the *Circus* or shew-place, than the house
of God. Then that for other dayes, no man might be
compelled to repaire unto them, (as they had beene for-
merly,) as being absolutely repugnant unto Gods com-
mandements: but that all people should be left at liber-
ty to goe or not to goe, as they would themselves.
*Nec oportere quonquam christianorum ad hac spectacula
eogi &c. Sed ut oportet hanc in libera voluntate subsistat
sibi divinitus concessa; so the Canon.* The Emperour
Theodosius thereupon enacted, that on the *Lords day*, on
the feast of *Christs Nativity*, and after to the *Epiphany*
or *twelfth day*, as we call it commonly; as also on the
feast of *Easter*, and from thence to *Whitsontide*, the *Cir-
ques* and *Theaters* in all places should be shut up: that so a
faithfull *Christian* people might wholly bend themselves
to the service of God. *Dominica quatuordecim septimana pri-*

*mi est dies. & Natale, acque Epiphaniarum Christi, fatis
che etiam & Quinquagesima diebus &c. Onan theodorus* Cor. Theodos.
*atque Circensium voluptate pernicieuses artes emittens
populo denegata: itaque Christianorum & sollicitudines
cultibus occupantur.* So farre the letter of the law, which
was enacted at *Constantinople*, the first of *February*
Anno 425. *Theodosius* the second time, and *Valentinian*
being that yeare *Consuls*. Where still observe, how
equally the principall festivities, and the *Lords day* were
matched together: that being held unlawfull for the
one, which was conceived so of the other. And so it
stood, untill the Emperour *Leo*, by two severall Edicts,
advanced the *Lords day* higher than before it was, and
made it singular above others festivals, as in some other
things, of which more anon; so in this particular.
For in an Edict by him sent unto *Amasius*, at that time
Capaine of his Guard, or *Præfectus prætoris*, he enacts it
thus. First generally, *Dies festos, dies altissime majo-
rati dedicatos, nullis volumus voluptatibus occupari*; that
"that he would have the holy dayes, which had beene de-
"dicated to the supreme majesty; not to be taken up
"with pleasures. What would he have no pleasures used
at all on the holy dayes? No, he saith not so, but onely
that they should not wholly bee taken up with sports and
pleasures; no time being spared for pious and religious
duties. Nor doth he barre all pleasures on the *Sunday*
neither, as we shall see anon in the law it selfe; but
onely base, obscene, and voluptuous pleasures. Then
more particularly for the *Lords day* thus, in reference to
the point in hand, that neither theater nor *Circus* nor
combatings with wilde beasts, should be used thereon;
and if the birth day or inauguration of the Emperour, fell
upon the same, that the solemnities thereof should be re-
ferred to another day: no lesse a penalty than losse of
dignity, and confiscation of estate, being layd on them
that should offend against his pleasure. But for the bet-
ter

Cod. l. 3. tit. 12.
de feriis.

er satisfaction, take so much of the law it sets, on our
cases this hypothesis. *Nihil eadem de vultu forma pu-
brilis, aut circumscriptionem, aut ferarum latrocinia, &c.
Etacula: Etiam si in nostrum ortum aut natiuitatem eadem
da solennitas incidere, differatur.* *Amisissimum namque
prescriptionemque patrimonij sustinebit, si quis unquam
spectaculis hoc die interesse, [presumpserit.] Given at
Constantinople, Martian and Zeno being consuls, 449 of
our Saviours birth.*

(3) Now for the things prohibited in these severall
Edicts, wee will take notice of two chiefly, the Sports
accustomed to bee shovne on the *stage* or *theater*; and
those *Spectacula*, wherein men with beasts, and some-
times men with men, did use to fight together in the *Cir-
que* or *show-place*: that we may know the better what
these Princes aimed at, and what the *fishers* meant in
their frequent invectives, against *playes*, and *shows*. And
first for that which first is named, the *scene* or *stage-play*,
though they arose from poore beginnings, yet they at-
tained at last to an infinite impudence; such as no mo-
dest eye could endure to see, or care to heare. The whole
contexture of the *Poems*, wanton and lascivious; the
speeches most extreemely sordid, and obscene; the acti-
on such, as did not so much personate, as *performe*, all base
kinde of vices. Their *women*, as their parts were fir-
med, did many times act *naked*, on the open stage; and
sometimes, did performe the *last acts* of *lust*, even in the
sight of all *spectators*: then which what greater shame
could be given to *nature*, what more immodest *spectacle*
could bee represented to the eye of heaven. This *Cesar
Bullinger* assures us, and withall makes it the chief
cause, why both profane and sacred Authors did cry
downe the stage, as being a place of such uncleanness:
*Autores omnes cum sacri tum profani, spurcitiam scena
exagitant, non modo quod fabula obscena in scena ageretur,
sed etiam quod motus, gestusque essent impudici, atque ad
profr*

De Beers
ib. 1.

prophetae in scenis adhibentur, & scena proferunt.
 Some: Nor hath he done them wrong: or delivered any
 thing without good authority. *Lactantius* and *Tertul-*
lian have affirmed as much, and from them hee had it:
 building up into one relation, what they had severally
 reported. First for their *Women*, acting naked, *Lactantius*
 saith that so it was in all their playes, devoted to the me-
 mory of their Goddess *Flora*. *Exiuntur velibus populo*
flagitante metrices, que tunc mimorum funguntur officio,
scilicet, The Mimes; which used to act those parts, (ifor
 who else would doe it) were by the people importu-
 ned to put off their cloathes, which they did accor-
 dingly: and being naked personated, as the *Mimicks*
 used, all shamelesse and immodest gestures: till the
 most impudent eye amongst them was glutted with
 so foule a spectacle. Then for the other filthinesse,
Tertullian tells us, that the common prostitutes, such as
 received the filts of all the towne, like the common
 sewers, performed those beastly acts on the *publicke*
stage: and which was yet more shamefull, in the sight
 and presence of the selfesame sexe. *Ipsa etiam prostibula,*
publica libidinis hostia, in scena proferuntur, plus misera in
presentia feminarum, as that Authour hath it. And sure
 there must be in them, some extreame impurities: when
Salvian a godly Bishop of this Age, hath told us of them,
 that such they were, *Ut ea non solum dicere, sed etiam re-*
cordari, aliquis sine pollutione non possit: that none could
 speake, nor not so much as thinke of them, without some
 infection. Such, that whereas all other crimes, of
 what kinde soever, murder, adultery, and theft and sa-
 criledge, and others of that heinous nature, might with-
 out any breach of *Modesty*, be accused and censured:
Sola impuritates theatrorum sunt, que honesta non possunt
vel accusari, the baseness of the theaters was so transcen-
 dent, that no man could accuse them, but must put off
 modesty. No intervalle therefore if the fathers both of

De fals. rel.
l. i. c. 20.

De spectatu.
lib. cap. 17.

De guberna.
Dei. 1.6.

Hh

this

this and the former Ages, used to declaime so much against them, and to cry them downe; at least to weane the people from them: as being the bane of chastity, the Shipwracke of the Soule, the devils temples, the scandall of the world, and the shame of nature. No mervelle if the Councell held in Carthage, in the Age before, or any of the Christian writers of these present times, Salvian, and Chrysostome, and the rest, so highly censured those, who left the Church and publicke service of the Lord, to goe to those impure delights, and unmanlike spectacles: or that the Fathers in the same place assembled, in this present century, agreed so well together to petition the Emperours then being, to redresse this mischiefe; or lastly that the Emperours of these times, sent out their Edicts, to prohibit such unchristian sports.

(4) As wicked, as unchristian, were those other shewes, against which the selfe same Fathers doe enveigh, against the which the foresayd Councels did petition, and the good Emperours before remembered, made their severall lawes; though of a very different nature: those worthily abominated for their filthy baseness; and these as much to be detested for their inhumanity. It was the custome of the great ones in the State of Rome, to court the favour of the people, by entertaining them with severall shewes; which in the end became replete with all kinde of cruelty; which fashion afterwards was retained among the Emperours, the better to content the vulgar, and keepe them in a good opinion of the present change. Sometimes they entertained their humours by presenting them with diverse sorts of cruell and outlandish beasts; which being brought into the place appointed, were chased and hunted up and downe, by such as were condemned to dye, or otherwise would adventure for reward and hire. In which it hapned many times, that many a man was made a prey unto Beares and Lyons, and other beasts of the like ferce and cruell nature; and

and therefore in the Emperours law before recited, are justly called *ferarum lachrymosa spectacula*; a most proper Epithite. Sometimes againe they would present them with a shew of fencers, not such as played at Cudgells, or with swords rebated; onely to shew their activeness, and teach men how to use their weapons, but such, as in good earnest, were to fight it out, and not give over till the victory was made good by death. And these I take to be *Cirque-fights*, or the *Circense certamen*, principally in the law prohibited, Tertullian tels us of the first, *ferarum voluptati satis non fieri, nisi & feris humana corpora dissiparentur*; that they conceived the beasts had not sport enough, unles they tore in peeces the wretched bodies of poore men. And to the other we may well apply the words of Cyprian, *Quid potest inhumanius, quid acerbius dici? disciplina est ut perimere quis possit gloria quod peremit*. What, saith the Father, can be told that "is more cruell more inhumane. Murder is growne in-
"to an Art, and they that kill most, have the greatest
"honour. And so indeed they had, there being rewards designed for them, that came off with victory; liberty, if they had beene Bondmen: if Freemen; sometimes money and sometimes a garland of palme-tree, which being wound about with certaine wollen ribbands called *Lemnisci*, had generally the name of *Palme Lemniscate*. With this Tertullian doth upbraide the Roman people, that whereas sometimes they would cry out, to have a notable murderer cast unto the Lyons: *fidem gladiatori atrociter dempetunt, & pileum primum conferunt*, the selfesame men would have some cruel swash-buckler or *Gladiator*, rewarded with a *Rod* and *cappe*, the signes of freedom. These barbarous and bloody fights, being so farre different from the spirit of meekenesse, which was the badge and proper cognizance of a Christian; were therefore bitterly inveighed against by the ancient writers, the Reverend Fathers of the Church: and such as harkened not

Despectac.

Epl 2.li.2.

De spectac.
cap. 28.

Confession.
lib. 6. c. 8

to their exhortations, esteemed as men given over to a reprobate sence; such as had cast away their livery, and forsooke their Master. The nature of these fights, and the opinion had of those which did frequent them, wee cannot better shew then by the story of *Alipius*, as *S. Austin* tels it; and is briefly this. *Quidam amici ejus & con-discipuli, &c.* Some friends of his meeting him as he came from dinner, with a familiar kinde of violence, forced him, against his will, to goe with them into the Amphitheator (for there these sports were sometimes held) *crudeliū & funestorum ludorum diebus*, upon a day designed to these cruell pastimes. He told them by the way, that though they haled his body with them, yet should his eyes and soule bee free from these bloody spectacles, *cum talia aversearetur & detestaretur*, which of himselfe hee so detested. But thither hee went and tooke his place, and presently closed his eyes that hee might not see those dismall fights, which were before him. When as the fight waxed hot, *& omnia fervebant immanissimis voluptatibus*, and all were taken up with those unmercifull delights, upon a suddaine shout, occasioned in the fight, hee let loose his eyes to see what it meant: *Et percussus est graviore vulnere in anima, quam ille in corpore; ceciditque miserabilius, quam ille, quo cadente factus est clamor.* By meanes whereof, he became smitten with a greater wound in his soule, than the poore fellow in his body; and fell more miserably by farre, than hee, upon whose death the sayd noyse was raised. How so? *Vt enim vidit illum sanguinem, immanitatem simul ebibat, &c.* For presently assoone, as hee beheld the blood, hee sucked in cruelty, and drew in the furies of the place, being delighted with the wickednesse the sport, and made drunke, as it were, with those bloody spectacles. Such playes and shewes as these, were not unlawfull to be seene on the Lords day onely, but

but on all dayes else. And such and none but such, were the playes and shewes, against the which the Fathers doe enveigh with so much bitternesse: which as they were unworthy of a Christian eye, so as religion did prevaile, they began to vanish; and finally were put downe, I meane these last, by *Theodoricus* King of the *Goths*, in Italy. Our playes and theirs, our shewes and theirs, yea and our dauncings too compared with theirs, are no more of kinne; than *Alexander* the Copper-smith was with *Alexander* the Great King of *Macedon*. Nay if *Baronius* tells us true, as I thinke he doth, these Playes and Cirque-fights were not prohibited by the Emperour *Leo*, because hee thought them not as lawfull to be performed upon the Lords day, as on any other, but for a more particular reason. Hee had a purpose to avenge himselfe of *Asper* and *Ardaburius*, two great and powerfull men that had conspired against his safety; and for the execution of that purpose made choyce of such a time, when the *Circensian sports* were to be exhibited. Which therefore he prohibited at this time, to be presented on the Sunday; because though his revenge was just, yet the effusion of so much Christian blood on that sacred day; might bee a blemish to religion, *Ne licet iusta esset ultio, tamen diem sacrum ignominia videri posset labefactasse.* So farre the *Cir-dinall*.

Annales
Anno 469.

(3) A second thing which this Emperour did, in the advancing of the Lords day, was in relation unto Civill and legall busineses. It was before appointed by the Emperour *Constantine*, that *Judges* should not sit that day, in the open Court: the Emperours *Gratian*, *Valentinian*, and *Theodosius* adding thereunto, that none should arbitrate in any brawling and litigious cause, upon the same. And whereas, *Valentinian*, *Theodosius*, and *Arcadius*, had priviledged other dayes, as well as Sunday, from the suites of Court, which dayes are formerly remembered, in their proper place: The Emperour *Theodo-*

cod. l. 2 de ser.
le x. 2.

son, the younger, was pleased to adde the feast of *Christ's Nativity*, and so to the *Epiphany*, or *twelfth-tide* as we use to call it, together with seven dayes before, and seven dayes after: [*Diem natalis domini, & epiphaniae, septem qui precedunt, & septem qui sequuntur*] making this festiueall with the rest before remembred; in this case equall with the *Sunday*. Where by the way wee may observe of what antiquity the feast of the *Epiphany*, is to be accounted; as having got unto such an height in this *Emperours* time, (he entered on the *Empire Anno 408*.) as to be privileged in the selfe-same manner, as *Christmasse* was. And not in this respect alone, in respect of *pleadings*, but in a following law of his *Anno 425*, he declared his pleasure, that this day, with the other principall *feasts*, as before we noted, was not to be prophaned, as it had beene formerly, by the *Cirques* and *Theaters*. For the antiquity thereof more might be saide, were not this sufficient. Onely I adde, that in the *Eastern* Churches from the times of old, they used to lengthen out the feast of *Christmasse*, for 12 dayes together; not ending the solemnities of the same, till the *Epiphany* was gone over: from whence in likelihoode, that custome came at last, to these *Western* parts! *Nativitatem domini Epiphania continentes, duas illas festivitates unam faciunt*. So *Otho, Frisingensis* tels us of them. But to proceede, it seemes that eyther these *Edicts* were not well observed; or else the *ministers* of the *Courts* used to meete together, for dispatch of businesse on that day, though the *Judges* did not. Therefore it seemed good to this *Emperour Leo*, in the yeare and day above recited, to declare his pleasure thereupon, in this forme that followeth. *Dies festas, dies altissima maiestati dedicatos, &c.* It is our will that the holy dayes being dedicated to the most high God, should not be spent, or wholly taken up in pleasures; or otherwise prophaned with vexatious suites. Particularly for the *Lords* day, that it be exempted from

Hist. l. 7. c. 32.

Cod. Infim.
l. 34. c. 12.

“from executions, citations, entering into bonds, appra-
“rances, pleadings, and such like: that cryers be not
“heard upon it, and such as goe to Law lay aside their
“actions; taking truce a while; to see if they can other-
“wise compose their differences. For so it passeth in
edict. *Dominicum itaque ita semper honorabilem decerni-
mus & venerandum, ut a cunctis executionibus excusetur.*
*Nulla quonquam urgeat admonitio, nulla fidei iussionis fla-
gitetur exactio, taceat apparitio, advocatio delitescat, sit idem
dies, a cognitionibus alienus, praconis horrida vox fileat, res-
pirent a controversijs litigantis, & habeant federis inter-
vallum, &c.* I have the rather here layd downe the Law
it selfe, that wee may see how punctuall the good *Em-
perour* was, in silencing those troublefome suites, and
all preparatives or appurtenances thereunto: that so men
might with quieter mindes, repaire unto the place of
Gods publicke service. Yet was not the *Edict* so strict,
that neither any kinde of *Pleasures* were allowed upon
that day, as may be thought by the beginning of the Law;
nor any kind of *secular* and *civill* businesse to be done up-
on it. The *Emperour Constantine* allowed of *manumission*
on, and so did *Theodosius* too. *Die dominico emancipare, &c.* Cod. l. 2. de.
manumittere licet; reliqua causa vel lites quiescant, so for. lex. 2.
the latter *Emperour*. Nor doe we finde, but that this
Emperour Leo well allowed thereof; Sure we are that
he well allowed of other *civill* businesse, when he ap-
pointed in this very *Edict*, that such as went to Law might
meete together on this day, to compose their differences;
to shew their evidences and compare their writings.
And sure I am, that he prohibited not al kinde of *pleasures*,
but onely such as were of an obscene and unworthy na-
ture. For so it followeth in the Law: first in relation
unto businesse, *ad sese simul veniant adversarij non timen-
tes, pacta conferant, transactiones loquantur*. Let the severall
“parties meete together, (upon the *Sunday*) compare
“their *Covenants*, and declare their bargaines.

Collection.

"Next in relation unto pleasures, that hee would have
 "no man abuse the rest of that sacred day, in filthy pleasures. For so it followeth in the law, *Nec tamen huius religiosa diei otia relaxantes, obscenis quemquam patimur voluptatibus detineri.* Where note, not simple voluptates, but obscene voluptates, not pleasures, but obscene and filthy pleasures, are by him prohibited; such as the *Scena theatralis*, therein after mentioned: nor civill businesse of all sorts, but brangling and litigious businesse, are by him forbidden, as the Law makes evident. And thus must *Theodorus Lector* bee interpreted, who tels us of this Emperour *Leo*, how hee ordained τὴν κυριακὴν μετὰ πάντων ἀργεῖσαι, ἀπεχθόν τε εἶναι καὶ σέβασμιον, that the *Lords day* should be kept holy by all sorts of people, that it should be a non-lee day, a day of rest and ease unto them: which is no otherwise to be understood, than as the Law it selfe intended; however the words of *Theodorus* seeme to be more generall. Nor was it long, before this Edict or the matter of it, had found good entertainment in the Christian world, the rather since those Churches which lay further off, and were not under the command of the *Roman* Emperour, taking perhaps their hint from hence, had made a Canon to that purpose. For in a Councell held in *Arragon*, Anno 516. being some 47. yeares after *Leo's* Edict, it was decreed, that neither Bishop, Priest, or any other of the Clergy (the Clergy at that time were possessed of some seates of judicature) should pronounce sentence in any cause, which should that day be brought before them. *Nullus Episcoporum aut presbyterorum vel Clericorum, propositum cuiuscunque causa negotium, die dominico audeat judicare.* This was in Anno 516. as before I said; the second yeare of *Amalaricus*, King of the *Goths* in *Spaine*.

Can. 4.

(6) Nor stayed they here. The people of this sixth age wherein now we are, began to *Judaize* a little; in the imposing of so strict a rest upon this day: especially in the

the *Westerne* Churches, which naturally are more inclined to *superstition*, then the *Easterne* nations. Wherein they had so farre proceeded, that it was held at last unlawful, to travaile on the *Lords day* with *waines* or *horses*, "to dresse meat, or make cleane the house, or meddle with "any manner of domestick businesse. The third Councell held at *Orleans*, Anno 540. doth informe us so; and plainly thereupon determined, that since these prohibitions above said, *Ad Iudaicam magis quam ad Christianam observantiam pertinere probantur*, did favour farre more of the *Jew*, than of the *Christian*: *Die dominico quod ante licuit, licere*, that therefore whatsoever had formerly beene lawfull on that day, should be lawfull still. Yet so, that it was thought convenient, that men should rest that day from husbandry, and the vintage; from sowing, reaping, hedging, and such servile workes: *quo facilius ad ecclesiam venientes, orationis gratia vacent*, that so they might have better leisure to goe unto the Church, and there say their Prayers. This was the first restraint, which hitherto we have observed, whereby the Husbandman was restrained from the plough and vintage; or any worke that did concerne him. And this was yeilded, as it seemes, to give them some content at least, which aimed at greater and more slavish prohibitions, than those here allowed of; and would not otherwise be satisfied then by grant of this. Nay so farre had this superstition, or superstitious conceit about this day; prevailed amongst the *Goths* in *Spaine*, a sad and melancholicke people, mingled and married with the *Jewes*, who then therein dwelt: that in their dotage on this day, they went before the *Jewes* their neighbours; the *Sabbath* not so rigorously observed by one as was the *Lords day* by the other. The *Romans* in this age had utterly defeated the *Vandals*, and their power in *Africke*: becoming so bad neighbours to the *Goths* themselves. To stop them in those prosperous courses, *Thende* the *Gothish* King, Anno

343. makes over into *Africke* with a compleate Army. The Armies neere together, and occasion faire, the Romans on a Sunday set upon them, and put them all unto the sword: the *Goths*, as formerly the *Iemes*, never so much as laying hand upon their weapons, or doing any thing at all in their owne defence; onely in reverence to the day. The generall History of *Spaine* so relates the story, although more at large. A superstition of so suddaine and so quicke a growth, that whereas till this present age, wee cannot finde that any manner of Husbandry, or country labours, were forbidden as upon this day; it was now thought unlawfull on the same, to take a sword in hand for ones owne defence. Better such doctrines had bene crasped, and such Teachers silenced, in the first beginnings, then that their Jewish speculations should in fine produce such sad and miserable effects. Nor was *Spaine* onely thus infected, where the *Iemes* now lived: the *French* wee see began to be so inclined. Not onely in prohibiting things lawfull, which before we specified; and to the house whereof, the Councell, held at *Orleans*, gave so wise a checke: but by imputing such calamities, as had fallen amongst them, to the neglect or ill observance of this day. A flash of lightning or some other fire from heaven, as it was conceived, had on the Lords day, made great spoyle of men and houses in the City of *Limoges*. This, *Gregory* of *Tours*, who lived about the end of this sixth Century, pronounceth to have fallen upon them, ob diei dominici injuriam, because some of them used to worke upon the Sunday. But how could he tell that; or who made him acquainted with Gods secret counsailes. Had *Gregory* bene Bishop of *Limoges*, as hee was of *Tours*; it may be *Limoges* might have escaped so fierce a censure, and onely *Tours* have suffered in it. For presently he addes, in *Turonico* vero nonnulli ab hoc igne, sed non die dominico, adusti sunt: that even in *Tours* it selfe many had perished by the selfe same fire; but

“but being it fell not on the Sunday, as it did at *Limoges*, therefore that misery fel on them for some other reason. Indeed hee tells us of this day, that being it was the day whereon God made the light, and after was the witness of our Saviours resurrection: Ideo omni fide a Christianis observari debet, ne fiat in eo omne opus publicum; therefore it was to be observed of every Christian, no manner of publicke businesse to be done upon it. A peece of new Divinity, and never heard of till this age; nor in any afterwards.

(7) Not heard of till this age, but in this it was. For in the 24. yeare of *Gunthram*, King of the *Burgundians*, Anno 588. there was a Councell called at *Mascon*, a towne situate in the *Dutchy* of *Burgundy*, as we now distinguish it: wherein were present *Priscus*, *Evangelus*, *Prætextatus*, and many other reverend and learned Prelates. They taking into consideration, how much the Lords day was of late neglected; for remedy thereof ordained, that it should be observed more carefully for the times to come: Which Canon I shall therefore set downe at large, because it hath bene often produced as a principall ground of those precise observances, which some amongst us have endeavoured to force upon the consciences of weake and ignorant men. It is as followeth, *Videmus populum Christianum temerario more diem dominicum contemptum tradere, &c.* It is observed that Christians an people doe very rashly slight and neglect the Lords day; giving themselves thereon, as on other dayes, to continuall labours, &c. Therefore let every Christian, in case he carry not that name in vaine, give care to our instruction; knowing that we have care, that you should doe well, as well as power to bridle you, that you doe not ill. It followeth, *Custodite diem dominicum qui nos donno peperit, &c.* Keepe the Lords day, the day of our new birth, whereon wee were delivered from the snares of sinne. Let no man meddle in litigious controversies,

veries, or deale in actions, or law suites; or put him-
 selfe at all upon such an exigent, that needes hee must
 prepare his Oxen for their daily worke; but exercise
 your selves in hymnes, and singing playtes unto God,
 being intent thereon both in minde and body. If any
 have a Church at hand, let him goe unto it, and there
 powre forth his soule in teares and prayers; his eyes
 and hands being all that day, lifted up to God. It is
 the everlasting day of rest, insinuated to us under the
 shadow of the *Seventh day* or *Sabbath*, in the *Law* and
Prophets; and therefore it is very meete, that wee
 should celebrate this day, with one accord: whereon
 we have beene made, what at first we were not. Let
 us then offer unto God our free and voluntary service,
 by whose great goodnesse wee are freedde from the
 Gable of error: not that the Lord exalts it of us, that
 wee should celebrate this day in a corporall abstinence, or
 rest from labour; who onely lookes that wee doe
 yeeld obedience to his holy will, by which contem-
 ning earthly things, he may conduct us to the heavens
 of his infinite mercy. How ever if any man shall let
 at naught this our exhortation, be he assured, that God
 shall punish him as he hath deserved; and that he shall
 be also subject unto the censures of the Church. In case
 he be a *Lawyer*, hee shall loose his cause; If that he be
 an *husbandman*, or *servant*, he shall be corporally pu-
 nished for it: but if a *Clergy man*, or *Monke*, he shall
 be sixe moneths separated from the Congregation.
 Adde here, that two yeares after this, being the second
 yeare of the second *Cloaire* King of *France*, there was
 a Synod holden at *Auxerre*, a towne of *Campaigne*,
 (*concilium Antisiodorense* in the Latine writers) wherein
 it was decreed as in this of *Mascon*, *Non licet die domi-*
nico boves jungere, vel alia opera exercere; that no man
 should be suffered to yoake his Oxen, or do any manne-
 of worke upon the *Sunday*. This is the *Canon* so much
 urged,

urged, (I meane that of *Mascon*) to proove that we must
 spend the *Lords day*, wholly in religious exercises; and
 that there is no part thereof, which is to be employed un-
 to other uses. But there are many things to be conside-
 red, before wee yeeld unto this *Canon*, or the authority
 thereof: some of them being of that nature, that those
 who most insist upon it, must be faine to traverse. For
 first it was contrived of purpose, with so great a strictnes,
 to meete the better with those men, which so extreame-
 ly had neglected that sacred day, A sticke that bends
 too much one way, cannot be brought to any straight-
 nesse, till it be bent as much the other. This Synod se-
 condly, was *Provinciall* onely, and therefore can oblige
 none other, but those for whom it was intended: or
 such who after did submit unto it, by taking it into their
Canon. Nor will some part thereof be approved by them,
 who most stand upon it; none being bound hereby to re-
 paire to Church, to magnifie the name of God in the Con-
 gregation, but such as have some Church at hand: and
 what will then become of those, who have a mile, two,
 three, or more, to their parish Churches, & no Chappell nea-
 rer? they are permitted by the *Canon* to abide at home.
 As for religious duties, here are none expressed, as proper
 for the Congregation, but *Psalmes*, and *hymnes*, and sing-
 ing prayse unto the Lord, and powring forth our soules
 unto him in teares and prayers: and then what shall wee
 doe for preaching. for preaching of the Word, which we
 so much call for. Besides, King *Gunthram*, on whose au-
 thority this Councell met, in his *Confirmatory* letters, doth
 extend this *Canon*, as well unto the other holy dayes, as un-
 to the *Sunday*; commanding all his Subjects, *Vigore huius*
decreti & definitionis generalis, by vertue of his present
 mandate, that on the *Lords day*, *vel in quibuscunque alijs*
solemnitatibus, and all solemne festivals whatsoever, they
 should abstaine from every kind of *bodily labour*, save
 what belonged to dressing meate. But that which needes
 must

mult most afflict them; is that the councell doth professe, this abstinence from *bodily labour* which is there decreed, to be *no ordinances of the Lords*, that he *exacterb no such duty from us*: and that it is an *ecclesiasticall exhortation* only, and no more but so. And if no more but so, it were too great an undertaking, to bring all nations of the world, to yeeld unto the prescript of a private and particular *Canon*; made onely for a private and particular cause: and if no more but so, it concludes no *Sabbath*.

(8) Yet, notwithstanding, these restraints from worke and labour, the Church did never so resolve it, that any worke was in it selfe unlawfull on the *Lords day*: though to advance Gods publicke service, it was thought good, that men should bee restrained from some kinde of worke; that so they might the better attend their prayers, and follow their devotions. Its true, these centuries, the fifth and sixth, were fully bent, to give the *Lords day* all fit honour: not onely in prohibiting *unlawfull pleasures*, but in commanding a forbearance of some *lawfull businesse*; such as they found to yeeld most hinderance to religious duties. Yea and some *workes of piety* they affixt unto it, for its greater honour. The *Prisoners* in the common Gaoles, had formerly beene kept in too strictly. It was commanded by *Honorius* and *Theodosius*, at that time Emperours, Anno 412. that they should be permitted *omnibus diebus dominicis*, every *Lords day* to walke abroad; with a guard upon them: as well to crave the charity of well disposed persons, as to repaire unto the *Bathes*, for the refreshing of their bodies. Nor did he onely so command it, but set a mulct of 20. pound in gold, on all such publicke ministers as should disobey: the *Bishops* of the Church being trusted to see it done. Where note, that going to the *Bathes* on the *Lords day*, was not thought unlawfull; though it required, no question, some corporall labour: for had it beene so thought, as some thought it afterwards; the *Prelates* of the Church would

would not have taken it upon them, to see the Emperours will fulfilled, and the law obeyed. A second honour affixt in these Ages, to the *Lords day*, is that it was conceived the most proper day, for giving holy *Orders*, in the Church of God: and a law made by *Leo* then Pope of *Rome*, and generally since taken up in the *Western* Church, that they should bee conferred upon no day else. There had beene some regard of *Sunday*, in the times before: and so much *Leo* doth acknowledge.

Quod ergo a patribus nostris propensiore cura novimus servatum esse, a vobis quoque volumus custodiri, ut non passim diebus omnibus sacerdotalis ordinatio celebretur. That which "our Fathers heretofore with such care observed, wee "would that you observe in the selfe same manner; viz. "that you conferre not holy Orders, on all daies indifferently. But that which was before a voluntary Act, is by him made necessary: and a law given to all the Churches under his obedience, *Vt his qui consecrandi sunt, nunquam benedictiones nisi in die resurrectionis dominica tribuantur.* "that ordinations should be celebrated on the *Lords day* onely. And certainly he gives good reason why it should be so, except in extraordinary and emergent cases, wherein the law admits of a dispensation. For on that day, saith "he, *The holy Ghost descended upon the Apostles*, and there- "by gave us, as it were, this celestiall rule, that on that day "alone wee should conferre spirituall orders, *in quo collata sunt omnia dona gratiarum*, in which the Lord conferred upon his Church all spirituall graces. Nay that this busines might be done with the more solemnity, and preparation; it was appointed that those men who were to be invested with *holy Orders*, should continue fasting from the *Eve* before: that spending all that time in prayer and humbling of themselves before the Lord; they might be better fitted to receive his *Graces*. For much about these times, the service of the *Lords day* was enlarged and multiplied; the *Evenings* of the day being honoured.

honoured with religious meetings, as the *Mornings* formerly. Yea, and the *Eves* before, were reckoned as a part or parcell of the *Lords day* following; *Cui a vespere sabbati initium constat ascribi*, as the same *Decretal* informs us. The 251 *Sermon de tempore*, ascribed unto *Saint Austin*, doth affirme as much, as before wee noted. Note, that this *Leo* entred on the chaire of *Rome*, Anno 44 of our Saviours birth, and did continue in the same full 20 yeares; within which space of time he set out this *decretal*, but in what yeare particularly, that I cannot finde.

(9) I say that now the *Evenings* of the *Lords day* began to have the honour of religious meetings: for *ab initio non fuit sic*, it was not so from the beginning. Nor had it beene so now, but that almost all sorts of people were restrained from worke; as well by the *Imperiall Edicts*, as by the constitutions of particular Churches; by meanes whereof the afternoone was left at large, to be disposed of for the best increase of *Christian Piety*. Nor probably had the Church conceived it necessary, had not the admiration which was then generally had of the *Monasticke* kinde of life, facilitated the way unto it. For whereas they had bound themselves to set houres of prayer, *Alane hora tertia, sexta, nona, vespere, noctis meridie*, at prime or dawning of the day, at sixe of the clocke, at nine; and afterwards at three in the afternoon, and at the evening, and at midnight, as *S. Hierome* tells us: the people generally became much affected with their strict devotions: and seemed not unwilling to conforme unto them, as farre at least, as might consist with their vocations. Vpon this willingnes of the people, the service of the Church became more frequent, then before; and was performed thrice every day in the greater Churches, where there were many *Priests* and *Deacons* to attend the same: namely, at sixe, and nine, before noone; and at some certaine time appointed in the evening,

Epitaphium
Paule mort.

ning, for the afternoone; according as now we use it in our *Cathedral*, and *Collegiate Churches*. But in inferior townes and pettit villages, where possibly the people could not every day attend so often: it was conceived sufficient that there should be the *morning* and the *evening* prayer, sung or said publickly in their Churches, that such as would might come to Church for their devotions: and so it stands by the appointment of the *Rubricke*, in our *Common Prayer Booke*. Onely the *Sundayes* and the *holy dayes*, were to be honoured with two severall meetings, in the morning: the one, at sixe of the Clocke, which simply was the *morning service*; the other at nine, for the administration of the holy *Sacrament*, and *Preaching* of the Word to the congregation. This did occasion the distinction of the *first* and *second Service*, as we call them still: though now, by reason of the peoples sloth, and backwardnesse in comming to the Church of God, they are in most places joyn'd together. So whereas those of the *monasticke* life, did use to solemnize the *Eve* or *Vigils* of the *Lords day*, and of other *festivals*; with the peculiar and preparatory *service*, to the day it selfe: that profitable and pious custome, began about these times, to be taken up, and generally received in the *Christian Church*. Of this there is much mention to be found in *Cassian*, as *Institut. lib. 2. c. 18. l. 3. c. 9. Collat. 20. c. 20.* and in other places. This gave the hint to *Leo*, whosoever made that sermon ascribed to *Austin*, which before we spak of, to make the *Eve* before, a part or parcell of the day; because some part of the *Divine offices* of the day, were begun upon it. And hence it is, that in these Ages, and in those that followed (but in none before) we meete, with the distinction of *matutina & vespertina preces*, *matins & Evensong*, as wee call it: the *Canons* of the Church about these times, beginning to oblige men to the one, as well as formerly to the other. The Councell held in *Arragon*, hereupon ordeined, *Ut omnis clerus die Sabbati, ad vesperam, paratus sit &c.* That all the Clergie be in readinesse on the *Satur-*
day

Bavon. Ann.
Anno 614.

" day vespers, that so they may be prepared with the
" more solemnity, to celebrate the *Lords day* in the con-
gregation. And not so onely, *sed ut diebus omnibus vespere*
& matutinas celebrent, but that they diligently say the
morning and the evening service, every day continually.
So for the *matins* on the Sunday, Gregory of Tours in-
formes us of them, *Motum est signum ad matutinas*, *Erat*
enim dies dominica; how the bell rung to *Matins* for it was
a Sunday. I have translated it the bell, according to the cu-
stome of these ages, whereof now we write; wherein the
use of bells was first taken up, for gathering of the peo-
ple to the house of God: there being mention in the
life and history of S. Lomp or Lupus, who lived in the
fifth Century) of a great bell that hung in the Church of
Sens in France, whereof he was Bishop, *ad convocandum*
populum for calling of the congregation. Afterwards
they were rung on the holy-day Eves, to give the peo-
ple notice of the feast at hand; and to advertise them,
that it was time to leave off their businesses, *Solebant*
vesperi, initia feriarum campanis prænunciare; so he that
wrote the life of S. Coadjutor.

(10) Well then, the bells are rung, and all the people
met together: what is expected at their hands? That they
behave themselves, there, like the Saints of God, in fer-
vent prayers, in frequent Psalmes, and Hymnes; and spi-
rituall songss, hearing Gods holy Word, receiving of the
Sacraments. These we have touched upon before, as
things that had beene alwayes used from the beginnings
of the Church. *Collections* for the poore, had beene
sometimes used, on this day, before: but now about these
times the *Offertory* began to be an ordinary part of Gods
publicke worship. Pope Leo seemes to intimate it, in his
fifth Sermon *de collectis*; *Et quia die dominico proxima fu-*
tura est collectio, vos omnes voluntaria devotioni preparare
&c: and gives them warning of it, that they may be rea-
dy. For our behaviour in the Church, it was first ordered
by Saint Paul, that all things be done reverently, *ἵνα τὸ*

αγγέλλω

ἀγγέλλω because of the Angels: according to which ground
and warrant, it was appointed in these ages, that every
man should stand up, at the reading of the Gospel, and
the *Gloria Patri*, that none depart the Church: till the
service ended. Pope Anastasius who lived in the beginning
of the fift Age, is said to have decreed the one, *Dum S.S.*
Evangelia in ecclesia recitantur, sacerdotes & ceteri omnes
presentes, non sedentes sed venerabiliter curvi, in conspectu
sancti evangelij stantes, dominica verba attente audiant, &
fideliter adorent. The Priests and all else present are en-
joyned to stand (their bodies bowed a little in signe of re-
verence) during the reading of the Gospel; but by no
meanes to heare it sitting: adding some joyfull acclama-
tion at the end thereof such as is that of *Glory be to thee O*
Lord: for that I take to be the meaning of the adoration,
or the *fideliter adorent*, there remembered. So for the *Glo-*
ria Patri, that forme of giving to the Lord the glory
which belongs unto him, we finde in Cassian, that they u-
sed to stand upon their feete, at the doing of it *In clausu-*
la psalmi; omnes astantes pronunciant magno clamore, Gloria
patri, &c. That at the end of every Psalme, they all stood
up, and with a lowde voyce pronounced the *Gloria Pa-*
tri; that gesture being thought most naturall and most
proper for it. No constitution needed to enjoyn those
duties which naturall discretion of it selfe, could dictate.

As for the last it seemed the people in those parts, used
to depart the Church, some of them, before the service
ended, and the blessing given: for otherwise there had
beene no Canon to command the contrary. *Ex malis*
moribus bona nascuntur leges, the old saying is. And out
of this ill custome did arise a law, made in a Synod
held in Agatha which is now called Agde, a towne of
Gallia Narbonensis, the 22. of the reigne of Alaricus
King of the Vist-Gothes, or Westerne-Gothes Anno 506. *con. Agathens*
that on the *Lords day* all Lay people should be present at
the publicke liturgie; and none depart before the blessing,
Missas die dominico secularibus audire speciali ordine præci-
pimus

I i 2

pimus

Can. 18.

hisp. l. 31.

pimus : ita ut egredi ante benedictionem sacerdotis, populus non presumat ; So the Canon hath it. According unto which it is provided in the Canons of the Church of England, that none depart out of the Church during th time of service and Sermon, without some reasonable or urgent cause. The benediction given, and the assembly broken up, the people might goe home, no doubt; and being there make merry with their friends and neighbours: such as came either to them of their owne accord, or otherwise had beene invited. Gregory of Tours informes us of a certaine Presbyter, which thrust himselfe into the Bishopricke of the Arverni; immediatly upon the death of Sidonius Apollinaris, who dyed about the yeare 487. and that to gaine the peoples favour, on the next Lords day after, Iussit cunctos cives preparato epulo invitari; he had invited all the principall Citizens to a solemne feast. Whatever might be said of him, that made the invitation, no doubt, but there were many pious and religious men, which accepted of it. Of recreations after dinner, untill evening prayers, and after evening prayer, till the time of supper: there is no question to be made but all were practised, which were not prohibited, Nam quod non prohibetur, permittum est, as Tertullian hath it.

(11) Yet notwithstanding all these honours, publickely done unto the Lords day, as before was said, it never grew so great, that it could swallow up all the other festivals. The Saturday continued hitherto a day of speciall meeting for the Congregation, in all the Churches of the East, and in those of Egypt. Cassian hath informed us so, Institut. l. 3. c. 2. & l. 9. c. 12. as also l. 2. c. 6. & Collat. l. 3. c. 1. The Alexandrians onely of all the people of Egypt observed it not; being therein conforme to the Church of Rome, as before we noted in the third Chapter of this Part, section 5. But for the Churches of Constantinople, and those neere unto it, it is said by Sozomen, that they assembled in the Church, both on the Saturday or Sabbath, and on the first day of the weeke. Or, as his owne

words

words are, Ἀμέλει οἱ μὲν καὶ τῷ σαββάτῳ, ὁμοίως τῇ μιᾷ σαββάτῃ ἐκκλησιαζέσθιν, ὥς ἐν Κωνσταντίνῳ πάλαι, καὶ σχεδὸν πάντων, Socrates doth affirme as much, l. 6. c. 8. both they, and Cassian being contemporaries, and living about the yeare 430. The like faith Anastatius Synaita, who flourished in the sixt Century Anno 540, or thereabouts, that Saturday aswell as Sunday; were ἁγία καὶ ἐορτάσιμοι ἡμέραι, holy and festivall dayes, both of them: one of them in relation to the rest of God; the other to the resurrection of our Lord and Saviour. So for the Westerne Churches and the Alexandrian, the greater festivals stood upon it: and would by no meanes yeeld the place unto the Sunday. It hapned once, as it may often, that Christmasse day fell on the munday; which much perplexed Theophilus, then Patriark of Alexandria: he knew not well which way to take, in a case so doubtfull. That Christmasse Eve was to be fasted, he knew well enough: and well enough hee knew that fasting on the Sunday had beene oft condemned in the times before him. At last he is resolved to compose the businesse, & paucos dactylos sumentes &c. by eating a few grapes to avoyde the imputation of hereticall abstinence; and yet withall to fast it out; as the day following did require. Where plainly Christmasse had the better. This hapned in the yeere 411, or thereabouts: since when the Church hath fallen on a finer temper; viz; when any festivall falls upon the munday; to keepe the fast thereof, on the Saturday night. So for the Westerne Churches, it was thus ordered in the Synod of Agatha, or Agde a towne in France, Anno 420, that in case any man should build a private oratorie or a Chappell of ease for his proper use, it was permitted that on the ordinary festivals, [Sundayes and other holy dayes of inferior sort] he might have masse and other divine Offices performed therein, propter familie sue fatigationem, for the ease and accommodation of his family. But on the feasts of Easter, Christmasse the Epiphany, holy Thursday, Whitsonide and the nativie of S. John the Baptist

Ii 3

“ Baptist, and other the greater festiva’ls, if more such
 “ there were: *non nisi in civitatibus vel parochijs teneant*,
 they should repaire unto the Citties, or their Parish
 Churches. And in the Synod of *Auvergne* Anno 541. it
 was decreed also to the same purpose, that Priests and
 deacons not being beneficed abroad, or within the Cit-
 ties, might upon ordinarie dayes, helpe to serve the cure
 in the Country villages. *Festivitates precipuas, domini na-
 tale, Pascha, Pentecosten, & si quæ sunt festivitates reliquæ,
 nullatenus alibi nisi cum episcopo suo in civitate teneant.* But
 “ on the greater festivals, *Christmasse*, and *Whitsontide*
 “ and *Easter*, and others the more principall feasts, they
 “ should not celebrate any where, but with their Bishop,
 in the Citie. This cleerly shewes how high the *Annual*
festivals; those chiefly of the greater sort, were in es-
 teeme above the *weekly*. Nor did these Ages so adhere
 to the former *festivals* or other dayes appointed for reli-
 gious duties; as not to institute any, but what they found.
 For to the fifth Centurie we are indebted for the feasts of
 our Saviour, *Circumcision*, *S. Stephen*, *S. Michael* the
Arch-Angel, and the nativitie of *S. Iohn the Baptist*: as
 to the sixth, for that of the *Purification* of the *Virgin Ma-
 ry*, or the presenting of our Saviour in the holy temple,
 when *Simeon* tooke him into his Armes, and blessed God
 for him; on which last motive it was instituted by *Iusti-
 nian* first, and by him called *festum ὑποκοαντιν*. To these
 two Ages also doe we stand indebted both for the *letany*
 it selfe, as a forme of prayer: and for *processions* which is
 one especiall use thereof, in the *Rogation weeke*, as we
 still doe call it *Processions* had beene used of old, in the in-
 terring of the *Martyrs*, as *Tertullian* intimates. These
 and the prayers accustom’d being perfected by *Mamer-
 cus* Bishop of *Vonna* in *France*, about the yere, 456; and
 by him fitted to those present miseries, which then had
 fallen upon that people; attained to that opinion, that
 they were used also by *Sidonius* Bishop of *Auvergne*, be-
 ing then visited with the like, if not greater miseries.
 And

L. 2. ad uxorem.

And in the yere 506, it was determined in a Councell
 held at *Orleans*, that the whole Church should bestow
 yearly at the feast of *Pentecost*, three dayes, in that *pro-
 cessionary* kindes of service. So it continues still in the
 Church of *England*, the *Letany* thereof being so com-
 plete, that I dare boldly say that from the death of the
Apostles till this very day, there never was a forme of
 prayer so exact and absolute.

(12) Thus have we brought the *Lords day* to the high-
 est pitch; the highest pitch that hitherto it had enjoyed,
 both in relation unto rest from worldly businesse; and to
 the full performance of religious duties. What ever was
 done afterwards in pursuite hereof, consisted specially
 in beating downe the opposition of the common people,
 who were not easily induced to lay by their businesse:
 next in a descant, as it were, on the former plaine-song,
 the adding of particular restrictions, as occasion was,
 which were before contained, though not plainly spe-
 cified, both in the *Edicts* of the former *Emperours*, and
Constitutions of the Churches, before remembered. Yet all
 this while, we finde not any one who did observe it as
Sabbath, or which taught others so to doe: nor any, who
 affirmed, that any manner of worke was unlawfull on it,
 further than as it was prohibited by the *Prince*, or *Pre-
 late*; that so the people might assemble with their greater
 comfort: not any one, who preached or published, that any
 pastime, sports, or recreations, of an honest name, which
 in themselves were lawfull on the other dayes, were not
 so on this. And thereupon wee may resolve, as well of
lawfull businesses as of *lawfull pleasures*; that such as have
 not beene forbidden by supreme authority, whether in
proclamations of the *Prince*, or *Constitutions* of the Church,
 or *Acts* of *Parliament*, or any such like declaration of
 those higher powers, to which the Lord hath made us
 subject; are to be counted lawfull still. It matters not, in
 case we finde it not recorded in particular termes, that
 we may lawfully apply our selves to some kinde of busi-
 nesse.

ness, or recreate our selves in every kinde of honest pleasure, at those particular houres and times, which are left at large, and have not beene designed to Gods publicke service. All that we are to look for, is to see how farre; we are restrained from labour, or from recreations, on the holy dayes; and what authority it is, which hath so restrained us: that we may come to know our duty, and conforme unto it. The Canons of particular Churches have no power to doe it, further than they have beene admitted, into the Church wherein we live: for then being made a part of her Canon also, they have power to binde us to observance. As little power there is to be allowed unto the declarations and Edicts of particular Princes, but in their owne dominions onely. Kings are Gods Deputies on the Earth, but in those places onely, where the Lord hath set them; their power no greater than their empire: and though they may command in their owne estates, yet is it *extra spheram activitatis*, to prescribe lawes to nations, not subject to them. A King of France can make no law, to binde us in England. Much lesse must wee ascribe, unto the dictates and directions of particular men, which being themselves subject unto publicke order, are to be hearkned to no further, then by their life and doctrine they doe preach obedience, unto the publicke ordinances under which they live. For were it otherwise, every private man, of name and credit, would play the tyrant with the liberty of his Christian brethren; and nothing should be lawfull, but what he allowed of: especially if the pretence bee faire and specious, such as the keeping of a Sabbath to the Lord our God; the holding of an holy convocation to the King of heaven. Example wee had of it lately in the Gothes of Spaine; and that strange bondage into which some pragmaticke and popular men had brought the French, had not the Councell, held at Orleans given a checke unto it? And with examples of this kinde wee must beginne the story of the following Ages.



CHAP. V.

That in the next six hundred yeeres, from Pope Gregory forwards, the Lords day was not reckoned of, as of a Sabbath.

(1) Pope Gregories care to set the Lords day free from some Jewish rigours, at that time obruded on the Church. (2) Strange fancies taken up, by some few men, about the Lords day, in these darker Ages. (3) Scriptures, and Miracles, in these times found out, to justify the keeping of the Lords day holy. (4) That in the judgement of the most learned men in these sixe Ages, the Lords day hath no other ground, than the Authoritie of the Church. (5) With how much difficultie the people of these Westerne parts were barred, from following their Husbandrie, and Courts of Law, on the Lords day. (6) Husbandrie not restrained on the Lords day in the Easterne parts, untill the time of Leo Philosophus. (7) Markets, and Handy-crafts, restrained with no lesse opposition, than the Plough, and pleading. (8) Severall casus reservati in the Lawes themselves, wherein men were permitted to attend those busineses, on the Lords day, which the Lawes restrained. (9) Of divers great and publike actions, done, in these Ages, on the Lords day. (10) Dancing, and other sports, no otherwise prohibited on the Lords day, than as they were an hindrance

to Gods publike service. (11) The other holy dayes as much esteemed of, and observed, as the Lords day was. (12) The publike hallowing of the Lords day, and the other holy dayes, in these present Ages. (13) No Sabbath all these Ages heard of, either on Saturday, or Sunday: And how it stood with Saturday, in the Easterne Churches.

(1)



Ee are now come to the declining Ages of the Church, after the first 600. yeeres were fully ended: and in the entrance on the seventh, some men had gone about to possesse the people of Rome with two dangerous fancies: One, That it was not lawfull to doe any manner of worke, upon the Saturday, or the old Sabbath; *ita ut die Sabbati aliquid operari prohiberent*; The other, *ut Dominicorum die nullus debeat lavari*, That no man ought to bathe himselfe on the Lords day, or their new Sabbath: With such a race of Christned Jewes, or Iudaizing Christians, was the Church then troubled. Against these dangerous Doctrines, did Pope Gregory write his Letter to the Roman Citizens; stiling the first no other than the Preachers of Antichrist: one of whose properties it shall be, saith he, that he will have the Sabbath and the Lords day both so kept, as that no manner of worke shall be done on either; *qui veniens, diem Sabbatum atque Dominicum, ab omni faciet opere custodire*, as the Father hath it. Where note, that to compell or teach the people, that they must doe no manner of worke on the Lords day, is a marke of Antichrist. And why should Antichrist keepe both dayes in so strict a manner? "Because, saith he, he will persuade the people that he shall die, and rise againe; therefore he meanes to have the Lords day in especiall honour;

123. 112.

"honour: and he will keepe the Sabbath too, that so he may the better allure the Jewes to adhere unto him. Against the other, he thus reasoneth: *Et si quidem pro luxuria, & voluptate, quis lavari appetit, hoc fieri nec reliqua quolibet die concedimus, &c.* "If any man desires to bathe himselfe, only out of a luxurious and voluptuous purpose, (observe this well) this we conceive, not to be lawfull upon any day: but if he doe it onely, for the necessarie refreshing of his body; then neither is it fit it should be forbidden upon the Sunday. For, if it be a sinne to bathe, or wash all the body on the Lords day; then must it be a sinne, to wash the face upon that day: if it be lawfull to be done in any part; why then, necessitie requiring, is it unlawfull for the whole? It seemes then, by Saint Gregories doctrine, that in hot weather, one may lawfully goe into the water, on the Lords day, and there wade or swimme, either to wash or coole his body, as well as upon any other. Note also here, that not the qualitie of the day, but the condition of the thing, is to be considered, in the denominating of a lawfull or unlawfull act: that things unlawfull in themselves, or tending to unlawfull ends, are unfit for all dayes; and that what ever thing is fit for any day, is, of it selfe, as fit for Sunday. Finally, he concludes with this; *Dominicorum viro die a labore terreno cessandum est, &c.* "We ought to rest indeed on the Lords day from earthly labours, and by all meanes abide in prayers; that if by humane negligence, any thing hath escaped in the sixe former dayes, it may be expiated by our prayers on the day of the Resurrection. This was the salve, by him applyed to those dangerous sores; and such effect it wrought upon them, that for the present, and long after, we finde not any who prohibited working on the Saturday. But at the last, it seemes some did; who thereupon were censured and condemned by another Gregorie, of that name the seventh. *Damnavit docentes, non licere die Sabbati operas facere*; as the Law informes us, *De consecratione distinct. 3. cap. Pervenit*. But this

was not till *Anno 1094*, or after, almost 500. yeeres after the times where now wee are. As for the other fancies, that of not going to the *Barbs*, on the *Lords day* it seems he cruffled that too, as for that particular; though otherwise, the like conceits did breake out againe, as men began to entertaine *strange thoughts*, and *superstitious doctrines*, about this day; especially in these *declining Ages* of the Church, wherein so many errors both in *faith* and *manners*, did in fine defile it, that it was *blacke* indeede, but with little comelinesse. The Church, as in too many things, not proper to this place and purpose, it did incroach upon the *Jew*; much of the *ceremonies*, and *Priestly habits*, in these times established, being thence derived: so is it not to bee admired, if in some things, particular both *Men* and *Synods* beganne to *Judaize*, a little, in our present businesse; making the *Lords day* no lesse rigidly to bee observed, than the *Jewish Sabbath*, if it were not more.

(2) For in the following Age, and in the latter end thereof; when Learning was now almost come to its lowest ebbe; there was a Synod held at *Fruili*, by the command of *Pepin* then King of *France*; a Towne now in the Territorie of the State of *Venice*. The principall motive of that meeting, was to confirme the Doctrine of the holy *Trinitie*, and the *incarnation* of the *Word*; which in those times had been disputed. The President thereof, *Paulinus*, Patriarke of *Aquilegia*, *Anno 791*. of our Redemption. There, in relation to this day, it was thus decreed: *Diem dominicum itcho ante noctis initio, i. e. vespere Sabbati, quando signum insurget, &c.* Wee constitute and appoint that all Christian men (that is to say all Christian men who lived within the *Canons* reach) should with all reverence and devotion honour the *Lords day*, beginning on the evening of the day before, at the first ringing of the *Bell*: and that they doe abstaine there, especially from all kinde of sinne, as also from all carnall

“ carnall acts, *Eriam à propriis conjugibus*, even from the
 “ companie of their Wives, and all earthly labours: and
 “ that they goe unto the Church devoutly, laying aside
 “ all Suites of Law; that so they may in love and cha-
 “ ritie praise Gods Name together. You may remember,
 that some such device as this, was fathered formerly on
 Saint *Austin*; but with little reason. Such trimme conceits, as these, had not then beene thought of. And though it be affirmed in the Preamble to these Constitutions; *Nec novas regulas instituimus, nec supervacuas rerum adinventiones inbianter sectamur*; that they did neither make new Rules, or follow vaine and needlesse fancies; *Sed sacris paternorum Canonum recensitis foliis, &c.* but that they tooke example by the ancient Canons: yet looke who will, into all Canons of the Church for the times before, and hee shall finde no such example. For my part, I should rather thinke, that it was put into the Canon, in succeeding times, by some misadventure: that some, observing a restraint, *ab omni opere carnali*, of all carnall acts, might, as by way of question, write in the Margin, *etiam à propriis conjugibus?* from whence, by ignorance, or negligence of the *Collectours*, it might be put into the Text. Yet if it were so passed at first, and if it chance that any be so minded, (and some such there be) as to conceive the Canon to be pure and pious, and the intent thereof not to be neglected; they are to be advertised, that the *holy dayes* must be observed in the selfe-same manner: It was determined so, before, by the false Saint *Austin*. And somewhat to this purpose saith this Synod now, That all the *greater Festivalls* must with all reverence be observed and honoured: and that such *holy dayes* as by the *Priests* were bidden in the Congregation, *Omni-bus modis sunt custodienda*, were by all wayes and meanes to be kept amongst them; that is, by all those wayes and meanes, which in the said Canon were before remembered. In this, the *Christian* plainly out-went the *Jew*; amongst

Ap. Answ. in
Ex. 20. 10.

Ca. 17.

Metropol. l. 4.
c. 8.

amongst whose many *superstitions*, there is none such found. It's true indeed, the *Jewes* accounted it unlawfull to marrie on the *Sabbath day*, or on the evening of the *Sabbath*, or on the first day of the weeke: lest (say the *Rabbins*) they should pollute the *Sabbath* by dressing meate. Conformably whereunto, it was decreed in a Synod held in *Aken*, or *Aquisgranum*, Anno 833. *nec nuptias pro reverentia tanta solennitatis celebrari visum est*, that in a reverence to the *Lords day*, it should no more be lawfull to marrie, or be married upon the same. The *Jewes*, as formerly wee shewed, have now by order from their *Rabbins*, restrained themselves on their *Sabbath day*, from knocking with their hands, upon a table, to still a childe; from making figures in the aire, or drawing letters in the ground, or in dust and ashes, and such like niceties. And some such teachers, *Olaus King of Norway*, had, no question met with, Anno 1028. For being taken up one *Sunday*, in some serious thoughts, and having in his hands a small walking sticke, hee tooke his knife and whittled it, as men doe sometimes, when as their mindes are troubled, or intent on businesse. And when it had beene told him, as by way of jest, how hee had trespassed therein against the *Sabbath*, hee gathered the small chippes together, put them upon his hand, and set fire unto them, *Vt viz. in se ulcisceretur, quod contra divinum preceptum incautus admisisset*; that so, saith *Crantzius*, hee might revenge that on himselfe, which unawares hee had committed against Gods Commandements. *Crantzius*, it seemes, did well enough approve the follie: for in the enterance on this story, he reckoneth this *inter alia virtutum suarum praconia*, amongst the monuments of his pietie, and sets it up as an especiall instance of that Princes sanctitie. Lastly, whereas the *moderne Jewes* are of opinion, that all the while their *Sabbath* lasts, the *soules in hell* have libertie to range abroad, and are released of all their

tor-

torments: so, left in any superstitious fancie, they should have preheminence, it was delivered of the *soules in Purgatory*, by *Petrus Damiani*, who lived in Anno 1056. *Domino die refrigerium poenarum habuisse*, that every *Lords day* they were manumitted from their paines, and fluted up and downe the lake *Avernus* in the shape of birds.

(3.) Indeede the marvaile is the lesse, that these and such like *Jewish fancies*, should, in those times beginne to shew themselves, in the Christian Church: considering that now some had begunne to thinke, that the *Lords day* was founded on the fourth Commandement; and all observances of the same, grounded upon the Law of GOD. As long as it was taken onely for an Ecclesiasticall institution, and had no other ground upon which to stand, than the authoritie of the Church; wee finde not any of these rigours annexed unto it. But being once conceived to have its warrant from the Scripture, the Scripture presently was ransacked; and whatsoever did concerne the old *Jewish Sabbath*, was applied thereto. It had been ordered formerly, that men should be restrained on the *Lords day*, from some kinde of labours, that so they might assemble in the greater numbers; the Princes and the Prelates both conceiving it convenient, that it should be so. But in these Ages there were Texts produced, to make it necessary. Thus *Clotaire King of France*, grounded his Edict of restraint from servile labours on this day, on the holy Scripture: *quia hoc lex prohibet, & sacra Scriptura in omnibus contradicit*, because the Law forbids it, and the holy Scripture contradicts it. And *Charles the Great* builds also on the selfe-same ground, *Statuimus secundum quod in lege dominus precepit, &c.* Wee doe ordaine, according as the LORD commands us, that on the *Lords day* none presume to doe any servile businesse.

Kk 4

Thus

Thus finally, the Emperour *Leo Philosophus*, in a Constitution to that purpose, of which more hereafter, declares, what he did so determine, *secundum quod Sp. Sancto ab ipsoque institutus Apostolis placuit*, according to the Dictate of the Holy Ghost, and the Apostles by him tutored. So also, when the Fathers of the Church had thought it requisite, that men should cease from labour on the *Saturday* in the afternoone, that they might be the better fitted for their devotions the next day; some would not rest, till they had found a Scripture for it. *Observemus diem Dominicum fratres, sicut antiquis preceptum est de Sabbato, &c.* Let us observe the Lords day, as it is commanded; from even to even shall ye celebrate your Sabbath. The 251. Sermon, inscribed *de tempore*, which I conceive to have beene writ about these Times, hath resolved it so. And lastly, that wee goe no further, the superstitious act of the good King *Olaus*, burning his hand, as formerly was related, was then conceived to be a very just revenge upon himselfe, because hee had offended, although unawares, *contra divinum Preceptum*, against Gods Commandement. Nor were these rigorous fancies left to the naked World, but they had miracles to confirme them. It is reported by *Vincentius* and *Antoninus*, that *Anstregisilus*, one who had probably preached such Doctrine, restored a Miller by his power, whose hand had cleaved unto his Hatchet, as he was mending of his Mill on the Lords day: for now you must take notice, that in the Times in which they two lived, grinding had beene prohibited on the Lords day, by the Canon Lawes. As also how *Sulpitius* had caused a poore mans hand to wither, onely for cleaving wood on the Lords day (no great Crime assuredly, save that some parallell must be found for him, which gathered stickes on the former Sabbath:) and after, of his speciall goodnesse, made him whole againe. Of these, the first was made Arch-bishop of *Burges*, Anno 627. *Sulpitius* being successor unto him in his See; and, as it seemes too, in his power of working miracles.

Such

Such miracles as these they who list to credit, shall finde another of them in *Gregorius Turonensis, Miracul. l. 1. c. 6.* And some we shall hereafter meete with, when wee come to England; forged purposely, as no doubt these were, to countenance some new devile about the keeping of this day: there being no new Gospel preached, but must have miracles to attend it, for the greater state.

(4.) But howsoever it came to passe, that those foure Princes, especially *Leo*, who was himselfe a Scholler, and *Charles the Great*, who had as learned men about him, as the times then bred, were thus perswaded of this day; that all restraints from worke and labour on the same, were to be found expressly in the Word of God: yet was the Church and the most learned Men therein, of another minde. Nor is it utterly impossible, but that those Princes might make use of some pretence or ground of Scripture; the better to incline the people to yeeld obedience unto those restraints, which were laid upon them. First, for the Church, and men of speciall eminence in the same, for place and learning, there is no question to bee made, but they were otherwise perswaded. *Isidore* Arch-bishop of *Sevill*, who goes highest, makes it an Apostolicall sanction *l. 1. c. 29.* onely, no divine Commandement; a day designed by the Apostles for religious exercises, in honour of our Saviours resurrection, on that day performed. *Diem dominicum Apostoli ideo religiosa solennitate sanxerunt, quia in eo redemptor noster à mortuis resurrexit.* And addes, "that it was therefore called the Lords day, to this end" and purpose, that, resting in the same from all earthly "Acts, and the temptations of the world, we might intend" Gods holy worship; giving this day due honour for the "hope of the resurrection, which we have therein. The same, *verbatim*, is repeated by *Beda, lib. de Offic. and by Rabanus Maurus lib. de institut. Cleric. l. 2. c. 24.* and finally by *Alcuinus de divin. Offic. cap. 24.* which plainly shewes that all those tooke it onely for an Apostolicall usage.

usage, an observation which grew up by *custome*, rather than upon *commandement*. Sure I am that *Alcuinus*, one of principall credit with *Charles the Great*, who lived about the end of the eighth Centurie, as did this *Isidore*, in the beginning of the seventh; saith cleereky, that the observation of the former *Sabbath* had beene translated very fitly to the *Lords day*, by the *custome* and *consent* of *Christian people*. For speaking how the *Sabbath* was accounted holy in the former times, and that the *Jewes* resting thereon from *all manner of worke*, did onely give themselves to *meditation* and to *feasting*; he addes, *cujus observationem mos Christianus ad diem dominicum competentius transtulit*; "the observation of the which, was by the custome of the Christians, translated very fitly unto the *Sunday*. Where plainly *mos Christianus*, the custome of the *Christians*, doth imply no precept, no order or command from the *Apostles* that it should be so; and much lesse any precept in the *Old Testament* which should still oblige. And sure I am, *Rabanus Maurus* speakes onely as by way of exhortation, as not being armed with any warrant, from the *Apostles*, or other Argument from Scripture: Where hee adviseth us, *A vespera diei Sabbati usque ad vesperam diei dominici, sequestrati à rurali opere & omni negotio, solo divino cultui vacemus*: "That from the Eve on Saturday untill *Sunday* night, being wholly sequestred from husbandry and all other businesse, wee should devote ourselves to the service of God: Which are the selfe-same words in the Homilie *de tempore* ascribed to *Austin*. Where no man will presume to say that either rest from husbandry, and such other businesse; or the beginning of the *Lords day* on the Eve before, were introduced by any precept of the *Apostles*: considering how long it was, before either of them had beene used in the *Christian Church*. And so *Hesychius* Bishop of *Hierusalem*, who flourished at the selfe-same time with *Isidore*, speakes of it onely as a *custome*, or a matter of fact, descending by tradition

Homil. 18. post.
Penta.

Homil. in dieb.
dom.

In Levit. lib. 2.
cap.

tradition from the *Apostles*. *Apostolorum sequentes traditionem, diem dominicum conventibus divinis sequestramus*: which was the most that hee could say, for the originall thereof; indeed who could more? And as for *Isidore* himselfe whom the others followed, it's cleere that they esteemed the *Lords day* for no other, than a *common holiday*; by farre inferiour unto *Easter*. *Pascha festivitatum omnium prima est*. The feast of *Easter*, is, saith he, the most principall Feast. Then followeth *Pentecost*, *Epiphanie*, *Palmsunday*, *Maundie-thursday*; and in the last place, *Dies dominicus*, the *Lords day*: Which questionlesse hee had not placed in so low a roome, had he conceived it instituted by any precept, or injunction of those blessed Spirits. So in a Councell held at *Paris*, Anno 829. it was determined positively, that keeping of the *Lords day* had no other ground than *custome* onely: and that this *custome* did descend *ex Apostolorum traditione, immo ecclesie autoritate*, at most from *Apostolicall tradition*, but indeede rather from the *Authoritie* of holy Church. And whereas *Courts of Law*, or *Law dayes*, had formerly beene prohibited on this day, that so men might in peace and concord, gos to Church together: the severall Councells, that of *Friburg*, Anno 895. and that of *Erpsford*, Anno 932. though then the times were at the darke; ascribe it not to any *Law* or *Text* of Scripture, but onely to the antient *Canons*. *Secundum sanctorum statuta patrum*, saith the first; *Can. 26. Secundum Canonicam institutionem*, saith the second, *Cap. 2*. And howsoever some have sayd that *Alexander*, Pope of *Rome*, of that Name the third, referres the keeping of the *Lords day* to *Divine Commandment*: yet they that looke upon him well, can finde no such matter. Hee saith indeede that both the *Old* and *New Testament* depute the seventh day to the rest of man: but for the keeping of it holy, both that and other dayes appointed for Gods publicke service, ecclesia

Etymolog. l. 6.
c. 18.

ecclesia decreverit observanda; that hee ascribes alone to the Churches order. Decret. l. 2. tit. 9. de servis. cap. 3. The like may bee affirmed also of restraint from labour, that it is grounded onely on the authoritie of the Church, and of Christian Princes; how ever in some Regall and Imperiall Edicts, there be some shew or colour added from the Law of God.

(5) I say some shew or colour added from the Law of God. For as before I said, it is not utterly impossible, but that those Princes might make use of some pretence or shew of Scripture, the better to incline the people, to yeeld obedience unto those restraints, which were laid upon them. The Synod held at *Mascon*, and that in *Auxerre*, both before remembred, expressely had prohibited all workes of husbandry on this day: the former having added for inforcing of it, not onely Ecclesiasticall censures, but corporall and cruell punishments. But yet this was not found enough to weane the people from their workes, their ordinary labours used before, upon that day; and it is no marvaile. The *Jewes* were hardly brought unto it, though they had heard God thundring from the holy mountaine, that they should doe no manner of workes upon their Sabbath: It being added thereunto, that whosoever should offend therein, he should dye the death. And certainly it was very long, before that either Prince or Prelate, or both joyned together, with all their power and policie could prevaile upon them; either to lay aside their labours, or forbear their Law dayes: as may appeare by many severall Edicts of Emperours, Decrees of Popes, and Canons of particular Councils; which have successively beene made in restraint thereof. The Synod of *Chalons*, Anno 662. wherein were 44. Bishops, and amongst them S. Owen Arch-Bishop of *Roane*, concluded as had beene before, [*non nova condentes, sed vetera renovantes*] that on the Lords day no man should presume to sowe or plough, or reape, *vel quicquid ad ruris culturam pertinet*, or deale

in

in any thing that belonged to husbandry: and this on paine of Ecclesiasticall censure and correction. But when this did no good, *Charlaire* the third of *France*, (for hee I thinke it was who let out that Law) beginning with the Word of God, and ending with a threate of severe chastiment, doth command the same. *Die dominico nemo servilia opera prae-sumat facere, quia hoc lex prohibet, & sacra Scriptura in Leg. Alaman. omnibus contrahit*, as before was said. "If any doe of. *iii. 39.*
 " send herein, in case he be a bondman, let him be soundly
 " bastinadoed; in case a freeman, let him be thrice admo-
 " nished of it; if he offend againe, the third part of his
 " patrimony was to bee confiscated; and finally, if that
 " prevailed not, he was to bee convented before the Go-
 " vernour, and made a Bondslave. So for the Realme of
 " Germany, a Councell held at *Dingulofinum* in the lower
 " Bavaria, Anno 772. (the Towne is now called *Dengolsel*,
 " not farre from *Lindaw*) did determine thus. " *Eesto die*
 " *Solis, otio divino intentus, prophanis negotiis abstineas*,
 " upon the Sunday (so they call it) let every man abstaine
 " from prophane employments; and be intent upon Gods
 " worship; If any man shall worke his Cart this day, or
 " busie himselfe in any such like worke, *jumenta ejus pub-*
 " *lica sunt*; his Teeme shall presently bee forfeited to
 " the publike use: And if stubbornly they persist to pro-
 " voke Gods anger, be they sold for Bond-men. So *A-*
 " *ventine* reports the Canon. And somewhat like to this was
 " ordered by *Theodorus* King of the *Bavarians*, viz. *Si*
 " *quis die dominico, &c.* " If any man, upon the Lords day,
 " shall yoake his Oxen, and drive forth his Waine, *dex-*
 " *trum suum perdat*, his right hand Oxe shall be forth-
 " with forfeit; if he make Hay or carry it in; if he mowe
 " Corn or carry it in, let him be once or twice admoni-
 " shed; and if he amend not thereupon let him receive
 " no lesse than fiftie stripes. Yet notwithstanding all this
 " care, when *Charles* the Great being King of *France*, had
 " mastered *Germany*, which was 789. or thereabouts; there
 " had

had been little reformation in this point amongst them. Therefore that Prince first published his own *Regall Edict*, grounding himselfe *secundum quod in lege precepit dominus*, upon the Prescript of Gods Law; and there commands, that all men doe abstaine from the workes of Husbandry. Which Edict since it speakes of more particulars, at that time prohibited, wee will speake more thereof anon. That not prevailing, as it seemes, hee caused five severall Synods to bee assembled at one time, *Anno 813. at Mentz, at Rhemes, at Tours, at Chalons, and Arles*: in all of which it was concluded against the *Husbandman*; and many others more, as we shall see in the next Section. And yet wee finde some grudging still of the old disease; as is apparant by a Synod held at *Rome, Anno 826* under *Eugenius* the second, chap. 30. another in the same place, *Anno 853.* under *Leo* the fourth, *Can. 30.* the like in that of *Compeigne*, held by *Alexander* the third, what time he lived an exile in the Realme of *France*. So for restraint of Law-dayes, or Courts of judgement, those chiefly that determined of mens lives; it was not brought about in these *Westerne* parts, without great difficultie. Witnesse, besides the severall *Imperiall Edicts* before remembred, *Conc. Mogunt. Anno 813. Can. 37. Rhemens. Can. 35. Turonens. Can. 40. Arelatens. Can. 16.* being foure of those Councils which were called by *Charles*, as before was said: as also that of *Aken, Anno 856. Can. 20.* And though it was determined in the *Roman Synod* under *Leo* the 4. that no suspected person should receive judgement on that day; a clause being added in the *Canon, legibus infirmari judicium eo die depromptum*, that all Acts sped upon that day, were voyd in Law: yet more than 300. yeeres after it was so resolved of, was *Alexander* the third, in Councell of *Compeigne* before remembred, enforced particularly to revive it, and then and there to set it downe, *Ne aliquis ad mortem vel ad pœnam judicetur*, that no man should upon that day bee doomed to death, or otherwise condemned

ned unto bodily punishment. So difficult a thing it was to weane the people from their labours, and other civill businesse, unto which they had beene accustomed; there being nothing to inforce or induce them to it, but humane authoritie.

(6) On the same reason, as it seemes, *Leo Philosophus* Emperour of *Constantinople*, did make use of Scripture: when in conformitie with the *Westerne Churches*, hee purposed to restraine the workes of *Husbandry*, on that day, which till his time had beene permitted. The Emperour *Constantine* had ordeined, as before was shewne, that all Artificers, and such as dwelt in Cities, should on the *Sunday* leave their Trades: but by the same Edict gave licence to the *Husbandman* to pursue his businesse, as well upon that day, as on any other. But contrary, this *Leo*, surnamed *Philosophus* (hee began his reigne *Anno 886.*) grounding himselfe, for so hee tells us, on the authoritie of the *Holy Ghost*, and of the Apostles; (but where hee found that warrant from the *Holy Ghost*, and from the holy Apostles, that he tels us not) restrained the *Husbandman* from his worke, as well as men of other callings. *Nicephorus Eccl. Hist. l. 15.* mistakes the man, and attributes it to the former *Leo*, *6. 22.* whom before we spake of in our 4. Chapter. *Quo tempore primus etiam Leo constitutione lata, ut dies dominicus ab omnibus atque labore omni, per otium transigeretur, festusque & venerabilis esset, quemadmodum & divinis Apostolis visum est, precepit.* At this time did the Emperour *Leo* first set out his Law, "That the *Lords day* should be of all men spent in rest, without any labour, that it should be an holy and a festival day as it seem'd good to the Apostles. Where the last clause, together with the substance of the Edict, make the matter plain, that he mistook the man, though he hit the businesse: the former *Leo* using no such motive in al his Edicts. But take it from the Emperour himselfe, who having told us *Constit. 34.* "first that the *Lords day* was to be honored with rest from labour, addes next, that he had seene a Law, (he meanes that

“ that of *Constantine*) *que non omnes simul operari prohiber-*
 “ *dos, nonnullosque uti operentur, indulgentiam censuit,*
 which having not restrained all workes but permitted
 some, did upon no sufficient reason, dishonour that so
 sacred day. Then followeth, *Statuimus nos etiam, quod*
Sp. Sancto ab ipsoque institutis Apostolis placuit, ut omnes
in die sacro, &c. a labore vacent. Neque Agricola, &c.
 “ It is our will, saith hee, according to the true meaning
 “ of the Holy Ghost, and of the Apostles by him direct-
 “ ed, that on that sacred Day, whereon wee were re-
 “ stored unto our integritie, all men should rest them-
 “ selves, and surcease from labour : neither the Hus-
 “ bandmen nor others, putting their hand, that Day,
 “ to prohibited worke. For if the *Jewes* did so much re-
 “ verence their *Sabbath*, which onely was a shadow of
 “ ours ; are not wee which inhabit Light and the
 “ Truth of Grace, obliged to honour that day which the
 “ LORD hath honoured, and hath therein delivered us,
 “ both from dishonour and from Death ? Are not wee
 “ bound to keepe it singularly and inviolably, sufficient-
 “ ly contented with a liberall grant of all the rest ; and
 “ not encroaching on that one, which GOD hath chosen
 “ for his service ? Nay, were it not a wretchlesse sligh-
 “ ting and contempt of all Religion, to make that Day
 “ common ; and thinke that we may doe thereon, as wee
 “ doe on others. So farre this Emperour determines of
 it first, and disputes it afterwards, I onely note it for the
 close, that it was neere 900. yeeres from our Saviours
 Birth, if not quite so much, before restraint of Husbandry,
 on this day, had beene first thought of in the *East* : and
 probably being thus restrained, did finde no more o-
 bedience there, than it had done before in the *Westerne*
 parts.

(7) As great a difficultie did it prove to restrain other
 things in these times projected, although they carried it
 at the last. The Emperour *Constantine* had before com-
 manded,

manded, that all *Artificers* in the Cities should surcease
 from labour, on the *Lords day* ; aswell as those whom hee
 employed in his *seates of justice* : and questionlesse hee
 found obedience answerable to his expectation. But
 when the *Westerne* parts became a prey to new Kings and
 Nations ; and that those Kings and Nations had admitted
 the *lawes of Christ* : yet did they not conceive it necessa-
 ry, to submit themselves to the *lawes of Constantine*, and
 therefore followed their employments, as before they did.
 And so it stood untill the time of *Charles the Great*,
 who in the yeere 789. published his Regall Edict, in this
 forme that followeth. *Statuimus, secundum quod & in*
lege dominus praecepit, &c. “ We doe ordaine, according
 “ as it is commanded in the Law of GOD, that no man
 “ doe any servile worke on the *Lords day*. [This in the
 generall had beene before commanded by his Father
Pepin, in the Conncell holden in *Frank* ; but hee now ex-
 plicates himselfe in these particulars.] That is to say,
 “ that neither men employ themselves in workes of
 “ Husbandry, in dressing of their Vines, ploughing their
 “ Lands, making their Hay, fencing their grounds, grub-
 “ bing or felling Trees, working in Mines, building of
 “ Houses, planting their Gardens, nor that they pleade
 “ that day, or goe forth on hunting : and that it be not law-
 “ full for the women, to weave, or dresse Cloth to make
 “ Garments, or Needle-worke, to card their Wooll, beat
 “ Hempe, wash cloathes in publike, or sheere Sheepe :
 “ but that they come unto the Church, to divine Service,
 “ and magnifie the Lord their God, for those good things
 “ which on that Day he hath done for them. After confi-
 dering with himselfe that Faires and Markets on this day,
 were an especiall meanes to keepe men from Church ; hee
 set out his Imperiall Edict, *De ruidinis concedendis*, as to
 prohibit Faires and Markets, as my Author tells me. Nor
 did he trust so farre, to his owne Edict, as not to strengthen
 it, (as the times then were) by the authority of the Church,

and therefore caused those five *Councils* before remembered, to bee assembled at one time: in foure of which it was determined against all *servile workes*, and *Law-dayes*, as also *ut mercatus in iis minime sit*, that no *Markets* should be kept upon them; *Concil. Mogunt. Can. 37. Ne mercata exerceant, Rhemer. Can. 35.* and so in those of *Tours*, 40. and *Arles* 16. That of *Chalons* which was the fifth, did onely intimate, that whereas the *Lords day* had beene much neglected, the better keeping of the same was to be established: *authentica constitutione*, by some *Authenticall constitution* of the Emperour himselte. But whatsoever care this Emperour tooke, to see his will performed, and the *Lords day* sanctified; it seemes his successeur *Ludovicus* was remisse enough: which being found, as found it was, the people fell againe to their former labours; *ploughing* and *Marketting* and *Law-dayes*, as before they did. The *Councell* held at *Paris*, *Anno* 829. which was but sixteene yeeres after the holding of the aforesaid Synods, much complains thereof: and withall addes, that many of the Prelates assembled there, knew both by fame and by their own proper knowledge, *Quosdam in hoc die ruralia opera exercentes, fulmine interemptos*, that certaine men following their Husbandry on that day, had beene killed with Lightning; and others with a strange convulsion of their joynts, had miserably perished: whereby say they, it is apparant, that God was very much offended, with their so great neglect of that holy day. Rather with their so great neglect of their superiours; in that, nor Declaration of their King, nor Constitution of the Church, could worke so farre upon them, as to gaine obedience, in things conducing to Gods service. Had working on that day beene so much offensive in the sight of God; likely it is, wee might have heard of some such judgements, in the times before: but being not prohibited, it was not unlawfull. Now being made unlawfull, because prohibited; God smote them for

Cet. 50.

Concil. Parisien.
829. 50.

for their frequent workings, at times which were designed to another use; not in relation to the day, but their disobedience. Therefore the Councell did advise that first of all the *Priests* and *Prelates*, then that *Kings*, *Princes*, and all faithfull people, would doe their best endeavour for the restoring of that day to its antient lustre; which had so foulely beene neglected. Next they addressed themselves particularly, to *Ludovicke*, and *Lotharius*, then the *Roman Emperours*; *Ut cunctis metum incutiant*, that by some sharpe injunction, they would strike a terrour into all their Subjects, that for the times to come, none should presume to *plough*, or hold *Law-dayes*, or *Market*, as of late was used. This probably occasioned the said two Emperours, 853. to call a Synod at *Rome*, under *Leo Syn. Rom. Can.* the fourth: where it was ordered more precisely, than 30. in former times; *Ut die Dominica nullus audeat mercationes, nec incubiariis rebus, aut qualibet opera rustica facere*, that no man should from thenceforth dare to make any *Markets* on the *Lords day*, no not for things that were to eate; neither to doe any kinde of worke that belonged to Husbandry. Which Canon being made at *Rome*, confirmed at *Compeigne*, and afterwards incorporated, as it was, into the body of the *Canon Law* (whereof see *Decretal. l. 2. tit. 9. de feriis cap. 2.*) became to bee admitted, without further question, in most parts of *Christendome*: especially when the *Popes* had attained their height, and brought all *Christian Princes* to bee at their devotion. For then the people, who before had most opposed it, might have justly said, *Behold two Kings stood not before him, how then shall we stand?* Out of which consternation all men presently obeyed, *Tradesmen* of all sorts being brought to lay by their labours: and amongst those, the *Miller*, though his worke was easiest, and least of all required his presence. *Nec aliquis a vespera diei Sabbati, usque ad vesperam diei dominica, ad molendina aquarum vel ad aliqua alia molere audeat.* So was it ordered in

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the Councill of *Angeirs*, (of which see *Bochellus*) Anno 1282. wherein the *Barber* also was forbidden to use his Trade.

(8) Yet were not those restraints so strict, as that there was no liberty to be allowed of, either for businesse or pleasure! A time there was for both, and that time made use of; there being in the *Imperiall Edicts*, and *Constitutions* of the Church, yea and the *Decretals* of the *Popes*, many reservations, whereby, the people might have liberty to enjoy themselves. They had beene else in worse condition, than the *Jewes* before. In the *Edict* of *Charles the Great* before remembred, though otherwise precise enough, there were three severall kinds of carriages, allowed and licenced on the *Lords day*: i. e. *Hortalia carra, vel vidualia, vel si forte necesse erit corpus cuiuslibet ducere ad sepulchrum*; that is to say, carriage of gardening ware, and Carts of victuals, and such as are to carry a dead Corps to buriall. So saith the *Edict*, as it is reported by the *Magdeburgians*, *Cen. 8. cap. 6.* But in *Bochellus* I have met with another reading. "For hee, "instead of *tria carraria opera*, which wee have rendred "three kinds of Carriages; doth leade *carnalia opera*, "three kinds of secular or carnall businesse: and then "instead of *carra hortalia*, Carts of gardening ware; "*carra hostilia*, which I conceive to bee *opera hostilia*, "actions belonging to the Warres in time of hostilitie. "This last perhaps more probable, because it is forbidden "in the Law it selfe, *Ne quis hortum labore*, that men for- "beare gardening upon the *Sunday*. So *Theodulphus Aurelianensis*, who lived about the yeere 826. having first put it downe for a positive Rule, that the *Lords day* ought with such care to bee observed, *Ut preter orationes & missarum solennia, & ea que ad vescendum pertinent, nil aliud fiat*; "that besides Prayer, "and hearing Masse, and such things as belong to "food, there is directly nothing that may bee done.

admits

*Bochell. l. 4.
tit. 10.*

*Epist. Bibl.
Tit. 10.*

admits of an exception, or a reservation. *Nam si necessitas fuerit navigandi vel itinerandi, licentia datur.* "For "if (saith he) there be a necessary occasion, either of setting sayle, or going a journey; this may bee allowed "of; in case they pretermitt not Masse and Prayers. This I finde extant as a *Canon* of the 6. *Generall Councell* holden in *Constantinople*; but since both this and all the rest of the same stampe, (there are nine in all) are thought not to belong of right unto it; I have chose rather to referre it to this *Theodulphus*, though a private man; amongst whose workes I finde it in the great *Bibliotheca Patrum. Tom. 9.* Thus in a Synod held at *Coy*, within the Realme and Diocese of *Ciiedo*, Anno 1050. it was decreed, That all men should repaire to Church on the *Lords day*, and there heare Masse, and other the *canonicall* houres; as also, *Opus servile non exerceant, Tit. 6. nec sententur itinera*, that they should doe no servile worke, nor take any journey. Yet with exceptions foure or five, namely unlesse it were for devotions sake, or to bury the dead, or to visit the sicke; or finally *pro secreto regis, vel Saracenorum impetu*, on speciall businesse of the Kings, or to make head against the *Saracens*. The King was much beholding to them that they would take such care of his *State affaires*: more than some Princes might be now, in case their businesse were at the disposing of particular men. So had it beene decreed by severall Emperours, yea and by severall Councells too: which for the *East* parts was confirmed by *Emanuel Comnenus* the *Easterne* Emperour, Anno 1174. *ὅς ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀπαλλοτρίωσεν τὰς πόλεις καὶ τὸ δικαστήριον*, "that all access to the *Tribunall* should be "quite shut up; that none of those who sate in judgement "should sit on any cause that day. Yet this not absolutely, but *εἰ μὴ ἐκ τινος οἰκονομίας ἢ ἀνάγκης, &c.* "unlesse the King shall please on any new emergent cause, "as many times businesse comes unlooked for, to appoint "it otherwise. Thus also for the workes of labour, fishing had

Decret. l. 2. tit. 9.
c. 3.

In Can. 29.
Concil. Laod.

Chron. Aeditui.

had been restrained on the *Lords day*, as a toylefome Act; and on the other *holy dayes*, as well as that: yet did it please Pope *Alexander* the third, (he entred on the chaire of *Rome*, Anno 1160.) to order by his *Decretall*, that on the *Lords day* and the rest, it might be lawfull unto those who dwelt upon the Coast, *Si hanc terra inclinarint, eorum captioni, ingruente necessitate, intendere*; to set themselves unto their fishing, in case the Herring came within their reach, and the time was seasonable. Provided that they sent a convenient portion, unto the Churches round about them, and unto the poore. Nay even the workes of handycrafts were in some sort suffered. For whereas in the Councell of *Laodicea*, it was determined, that men should rest on the *Lords day*, *καὶ τὸν ἑπομένον αὐτῶν*, from all their handy workes, and repaire to Church. *Balsamon* tells us in his *Glosse*, that so it was resolved amongst them, *ἐν ἀναγκῇ μόνον*, not absolutely; but *ἐν ἀναγκῇ οἱ μόνον*, if with conveniencie they could. For still, saith he, (hee lived in Anno 1191.) in case men labour on that day, *ἐν πτωχῇ, ἢ ἀλλαν πτωχὸς ἀναγκῇ*, either because of want or any other necessitie, they are held excusable. Lastly, whereas Pope *Gregory* the 9. had on the *Sundayes* and the *holy dayes*, commanded *ut homines & jumenta omnia quiescant*, that there should be a generall restraint from labour, both of man and beast: there was a reservation also, *Nisiurgens necessitas instet, vel nisi pauperibus, vel ecclesia, gratis fiat*; unlesse on great necessity, or some good Office to be done unto the poore, or to the Church.

(9) Nor were there *reservations* and exceptions onely in point of *businessse*, and nothing found in point of *practise*; but there are many *passages*, especially of the *greatest persons*, and most *publike actions*, left upon record; to let us know what libertie they assumed unto themselves, as well on this day as the rest. And in such onely shall I instance, and as being most *exemplary*: and therefore most conducing to my present purpose. And first wee reade of a great

battaile,

battaile, fought on *Palme-Sunday*, Anno 718. betweene *Charles Martell*, Grand master of the household to the King of France, and *Hilpericus* the King himselfe; wherein the victory fell to *Charles*: and yet we reade not there of any great necessitie, nay of none at all, but that they might, on both sides, have deferred the battaile, had they conceived it any sinne, to fight that day. Upon the Sunday before Lent, Anno 835. *Ludovick* the Emperour, surnamed *Pius*, or the godly, together with his *Prelates*, and others, which had been present with him at the assembly held at *Theonville*; went on his journey unto *Meiz*: nor do we find that it did derogate at all, from his name, and piety. Upon the Sunday after *Whitsontide*, Anno 844. *Ludowick*, sonne unto *Lotharius* the Emperour, made his solemne entrance into *Rome*: the *Roman Citizens* attending him with their *Flagges* and *Ensignes*; the *Pope* and *Clergy* staying his comming in *S. Peters Church*, there to entertaine him. Upon a Sunday, Anno 1014. *Henry* the Emperour, *duodecim senatoribus valatus*, environed with 12. of the *Roman Senatours*, came to *S. Peters Church*, and there was crowned, together with his wife, by the *Pope* then being. On *Easter day*, in ipsa die paschalis solennitatis, Anno 1027. *Conrade* the Emperour was solemnely inaugurated by *Pope John*; *Canutus* King of *England*, and *Rodolph* King of the *Burgundians*, being then both present: and the next Sunday after began his journey towards *Germany*. Upon *Palme Sunday*, Anno 1034. *Wibert*, Arch-bishop of *Ravenna*, was solemnly inthronized in the Chaire of *Rome*: and the next Sunday after, being *Easter day*, *Henry* the third *Imperiali dignitate sublimatus est*, was crowned Emperour. On *Passion Sunday*, Anno 1148. *Lewis* the King of *France* afterwards Canonized for a *Saint*, made his first entrie into *Hierusalem* with all his Army; and yet wee reade not any where, that it was laid in barre against him, to put by his Sainxing; as possibly it might be now, were it yet to doe. What should I speake of *Councells* on this day

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Aventine Hill.

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Baron.

Di. l. x. ann. 1110.

l. 7.

Otho Frising. hist. l. 6. c. 29.

Urspergens. Chron.

assembled, as that of *Chartres*, Anno 1146. for the recovery of the *holy Land*; of *Tours*, on *Trinitie Sunday*, as we call it now, Anno 1164. against *Octavian* the Pseudo-Pope; that of *Ferrara*, upon *Passion Sunday*, Anno 1177. against *Frederick* the Emperour; or that of *Paris*, Anno 1226. summoned by *Stephen* then Bishop there, on the fourth *Sunday* in *Lent*, for the condemning of certaine dangerous and erroneous positions, at that time on foote. I have the rather instanced in these particulars, partly because they hapned about these times, when *Prince* and *Prelate* were most intent, in laying more and more restraints upon their people, for the more honour of this day: and partly because being all of them *publicke actions*, and such as mooved not forwards but by divers wheelles; they did require a greater number of people to attend them. And howsoever *Councils*, in themselves, bee of an ecclesiasticall nature; and that the crowning of a King in the *Aet* itselſe, be mixed of *sacred* and of *civill*: yet in the traine and great attendance that belongs unto them, the pompe, the triumphes, and concourse of so many people, they are meerely secular. And secular although they were, yet wee may well perswade our selves, that neither *Aktor* or *Spelctatour*, thought themselves guiltie, any wise, of offering any the least wrong to the *Lords day*: though those solemnities, no question, might without any prejudice have beene put off to another time. No more did those, who did attend the *Princes* before remembred, in their magnificent entries into *Rome*, and *Meiz*; or the other military entrance into *Hierusalem*: which were meer *Secular Aets*, and had not any the least mixture, either of *Ecclesiasticall* or *sacred Nature*.

(10) For *Recreations* in these times, there is no question to be made, but all were lawfull to be used on the *Lords day*, which were accounted lawfull upon other dayes, and had not beene prohibited by *authoritie*: and wee finde none

none prohibited, but dancing onely. Not that all kinde of dancing was by Law restrained: but either the *abuse* thereof, at times unseasonable, when men should have beene present in the Church of God; or else immodest, shamelesse *dancings*; such as were those, against the which the *Fathers* did inveigh so sharply, in the Primitive times. In reference to the first, *Damasceen* tells us of some men, *Parallelorum*, who onely wished for the *Lords day*, *ut ab opere feriati lib. 3. cap. 47. vitiis operam dent*, that being quitted from their labours, they might enjoy the better their sinfull pleasures. "For
" looke into the streets (saith he) upon other dayes, and
" there is no man to be found; *Die Dominico egredere*,
" *atque alios cithara canentes, alios applaudentes, & sal-*
" *tantes, &c.* But looke abroad on the *Lords day*, and
" you shall finde some singing to the Harpe, others ap-
" plauding of the Musicke; some dancing, others jeering
" of their Neighbours, *alios denique luctantes reperies*;
" and some also Wraſtling. It followeth; *Præco ad Ec-*
" *clesiam vocat? omnes segnitie torpent, & moras nectunt*:
" *Cithara aut tuba personuit? omnes tanquam aliis in-*
" *struati currunt.* Doth the *Clarke* call unto the Church?
" they have a *feaver-lurdane*, and they cannot stirre:
" Doth the *Harpe* or *Trumpet* call them to their Pa-
" stimes? they *ſlie*, as they had wings to helpe them.
They that can finde in this a prohibition, either of *Mu-*
sicke, *Dancing*, *publike Sports*, or *man-like Exercises*, such
as *Wraſtling* is, on the *Lords day*; must certainly have
better eyes than *Lyneus*, and more wit than *Oedipus*.
Plainely they prove the contrarie, to what some alleage
them; and shew most clearly, that the *Recreations*
there remembred, were allowed of *publikely*: otherwise,
none durst use them, as wee see they did, in the open
streetes. Onely the *Father* seemes offended, that they
preferred their *Pastimes*, before their *Prayers*; that they
made little or no haste to Church, and ranne upon the
spurre to their *Recreations*: that where Gods *publike*
service

service was to be first considered, in the *Lords day*; and after, on spare times, mens *private pleasures*; these had quite changed the course of nature, and loved the *Lords day* more for *pleasure*, than for *devotion*. This is the most that can be made, from this place of *Damascen*: and this makes more for *Dancing*, and such *Recreations*, than it doth against them; in case they be not used at unfitting houres. Much of this nature, is the *Canon* produced by some, to condemne *Dancing* on the *Lords day*, as unlawfull utterly: Which being looked into, condemnes alone *immodest* and *unseemely Dancings*; such as no *Canon* could allow of upon *any day*, of what name soever. A *Canon* made by Pope *Eugenius*, in a Synod held at *Rome*, Anno 826. what time both *Prince* and *Prelates* did agree together, to raise the *Lords day* to as high a pitch, as they fairely might. Now in this Synod there were made three *Canons*, which concerne this *Day*: the first, prohibitive of *Businesse*, and the *workes of Labour*; the second, against *Processe*, in *Causas criminall*; the third, *ne mulieres Festis diebus vanis ludis vacent*, that women doe not give themselves, on the *holy dayes*, unto *Wanton Sports*: and is as followeth. *Sunt quidam, & maxime mulieres, qui Festis & sacris diebus, &c.* “ Certaine there are, but chiefly
 “ women, which on the *holy dayes*, and *Festivals* of the
 “ blessed *Martyrs*, upon the which they ought to rest,
 “ have no great list to come to *Church*, as they ought to
 “ doe; *sed balando, & turpia verba decantando, &c.* but
 “ spend the time in *Dancing*, and in *shamelesse Songs*,
 “ leading and holding out their *Dances*, as the *Pagans*
 “ used, and in that manner come to the *Congregation*.
 “ These, if they come unto the *Church* with few sinnes
 “ about them; returne backe with more: and therefore
 “ are to be admonished by the *Parish Priest*, that they
 “ must onely come to *Church*, to say their *Prayers*;
 “ such as doe otherwise, destroying not themselves
 “ alone, but their neighbours also. Now in this *Canon*,
 there

Can. 35.

there are these three things to bee considered: First, That these *women* used not to come unto the *Church*, with that sobrietie and gravitie which was fitting, as they should have done; but *Dancing*, *Singing*, *Sporting*, as the *Pagans* used, when they repaired unto their *Temples*: Secondly, That these *Dancings* were accompanied with *immodest Songs*, and therefore as unfit for *any day*, as they were for *Sunday*: and thirdly, That these kinde of *Dancings* were not prohibited on the *Lords day* onely, but on all the *holy dayes*. Such also was the *Canon Decret. pars 3. of the third Councell of Toledo, Anno 589.* which, *de Consecrat. Distinct 3.* afterwards, became a part of the *Canon Law*; though, by the over-sight of the *Collector*, it is there sayd to be the fourth: and this will make as little to the purpose, as the other did. It is this that followeth: *Irreligiosa consuetudo est, quam vulgus per sanctorum Solennitates & Festivitates agere consuevit. Populi qui Divina Officia debent attendere, saltationibus turpibus invigilant, Cantica non solum mala canentes, sed etiam Religiosorum Officiis perstrepunt. Hoc enim ut ab omni Hispania [the Decree reades ab omnibus Provinciis] depellatur, Sacerdotum ac Iudicum à Sancto Concilio cura committitur.* “ There is an irreligious Custome
 “ taken up by the common people, that on the *Festivals* of the *Saints*, those which should be attent on
 “ *Divine Service*, give themselves wholly to *leascivious*
 “ *and shamelesse Dances*: and doe not onely sing
 “ *unseemely Songs*, but disturbe the *Service* of the
 “ *Church*. Which mischief, that it may be soone removed out of all the *Countrey*, the *Councell* leaves
 “ it to the care of the *Priests* and *Judges*. Such *Dances*, and imployed to so bad a purpose, there is none could tolerate; and yet this generally, was upon the *holy dayes*, *Saints dayes* I meane, as well as *Sundayes*: Whereby wee see, the *Church* had no lesse care of one than of the other.

(11) And

(11) And so indeed it had, not in this alone, but in all things else: the *holy dayes*, as wee now distinguish them, being in most points equall to the *Sunday*; and in some, superiour. *Leo* the Emperour, by his Ediēt, had shut up the *Theater*, and the *Cirque* or *Shew-place*, on the *Lords day*. The like is willed expressly, in the sixt generall Councell holden at *Constantinople*, Anno 692. for the whole *Easter weeke*. *Nequaquam ergo his diebus, eorum cursus, vel aliquod publicum fiat spectaculum*; That neither Horse-Races in the *Cirque*, or any other publique Shewes, be performed therein. So the *Canon* hath it. The Emperour *Charles* restrained the *Husbandman* and the *Tradesman*, from following their usuall worke on the *Lords day*. The Councell of *Meaux*, [*Meldease* in the *Latine Writers*] Anno 840. doth the same for the said *Easter weeke*, and in more particulars: it being ordered by that *Synod*, that men forbear, during the time above remembred, *ab omni opere Rurali, Fabrilis, Carpentario, Gynacco, Camentario, Pictorio, Venatorio, Forensi, Mercatorio, Audientiali, ac Sacramentis exigendis*; "from Husbandry, the Craft of Smiths, and Carpenters, "from Needle-worke, Cementing, Painting, Hunting, "Pleadings, Merchandize, Casting of Accompts, and from "taking Oathes. For matters of another nature, the *Benedictines* had but three Messe of Pottage, upon other dayes: *die vero Dominico, & in praeceptis Festivitatibus*; but on the *Lords day*, and the principall Festivals, a fourth was added; as saith *Theodore* the Abbot, in an Epistle to *Charles* the Great. So also Law-Suites, and Courts of Judgement, were to be layd aside, and quite shut up on the *Lords day*; as many Emperors and Councells had determined severally. The Councell held at *Friburg*, Anno 895. did resolve the same, of *holy dayes*, or *Saints dayes*, and the time of *Lent*. *Nallus omnino secularis diebus Dominis, vel Sanctorum in festis, seu Quadragesime, aut jejuniorum, placitum habere, sed nec populum illo presumat coercere*:

"Let

Can. 66.

Can. 77.

Conc. Triburiens.
Can. 26.

"Let not the Secular Judge presume to hold any Plea, or "Law-day, either upon the *Lords day*, or *Festivals* of the "Saints, or in the time of *Lent*, or any time of publique "fast; nor force the people on the same to be assembled: as the *Canon* goeth: The very same with that of the Councell of *Erford*, Anno 932. cap. 2. But what need private and particular *Synods* be produced, as witnesses herein, when wee have Emperours, Popes, and Patriarkes, to affirme the same. To take them in the order in which they lived; *Photius*, the Patriarke of *Constantinople*, Anno 858. thus reckoneth up the *Festivals* of especiall note, viz. "Seven dayes before *Easter*, and seven "dayes after *Christmas*, *Epiphanie*, & ἡ ἑνὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ ἁποστολῇ, & ἡ ἑνὶ τῷ κυρίῳ, the Feasts of the Apostles, and the *Lords day*. And then he addes, & ἐν ταῖς προηγουμέναις ἡμέραις & τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, ἢ διὰ τὴν ἀνάγκην, that on those dayes, they neither "suffer publique Shewes, nor Courts of Justice. *Emanuel Comnenus* next, Emperour of *Constantinople*, Anno 1174. ἐπιτάξας ἡμῖν εἶναι τὸν ἡμερὸν τῆς ἀπαρχῆς, &c. "Wee *Ap Balsam.* "doe ordaine, saith hee, that these dayes following be "empt from labour, viz. the *Nativitie* of the *Virgin Mary*, *Hol-Rood day*, (and so hee reckoneth all the "rest, in those parts observed) together with all the "Sundayes in the yeere; and that in them, there be "not any access to the Seats of Judgement. The like, *Pope Gregorie* the ninth, Anno 1228. determineth in Lib. 2. tit. de Fe. the *Decretall*; where numbring up the *holy dayes*, hee concludes at last, That neither any Proesse hold, nor Sentence bee in force, pronounced on any of those dayes, though both parts mutually should consent unto it. *Consentientibus etiam partibus, nec Processus habitus teneat, nec Sententia quam contingit diebus hujusmodi promulgari*. So the *Law* resolves it. Now, lest the Feast of *Whitsontide* might not have some respect, as well as *Easter*; it was determined in the Councell held at *Engelheim*, Anno 948. That *Munday*, cap. 8. *Tuesday*,

Ap. Balsam. tit. 7.
cap. 1.

Lib. 2. tit. de Fe.
cap. 5.

Völsgerf.
Chronie.

"Tuesday, Wednesday in the Whitsun-Week, non minus
 "quam dies Dominicus sollemniter honorantur, should no
 "lesse solemnely be observed, than the Lords day was.
 So, when that Otho, Bishop of Bamberg, had planted the
 Faith of Christ in Pomerania, and was to give account
 thereof to the Pope then being; hee certifieth him by
 his Letters, Anno 1124. That having christened them,
 and built them Churches, hee left them three Injunctions
 for their Christian carriage. First, That they ate no flesh
 on Fridayes; secondly, That they rest the Lords day, ab
 omni opere malo; from every evill worke, repairing to
 the Church for religious duties: and thirdly, Sancto-
 rum sollemnitates cum vigiliis omni diligentia observent;
 that they keepe carefully the Saints dayes, with the
 Eves attendant. So, that in all these outward matters,
 wee finde faire equalitie; save that in one respect, the
 principall Festivals had preheminence above the Sun-
 day. For, whereas Fishermen were permitted, by the
 Decretall of Pope Alexander the third, as before was
 said, Diebus Dominicis & aliis Festis, on the Lords day
 and other holy dayes, to fish for Herring, in some cases;
 there was a speciall exception of the greater Festivals,
 Praterquam in majoribus anni sollemnitatibus, as the or-
 der was. But not to deale in generals onely; Isidore,
 Arch-bishop of Seville, in the beginning of the seventh
 Centurie, making a Catalogue of the principall Festi-
 vals, begins his List with Easter, and ends it with
 the Lords day; as before wee noted; in the fifth Section
 of this Chapter. Now, lest it should be thought, that
 in sacred matters, and points of substance, the other
 holy dayes were not as much regarded, as the Lords day
 was; the Councell held at Mentz, Anno 813. did
 appoint it thus; That if the Bishop were infirme, or
 not at home, Non desit tamen diebus Dominicis, & Fe-
 stivitatibus, qui Verbum Dei predicet, juxta quod populus
 intelligat; yet there should still be some to preach Gods
 Word

Word unto the people; according unto their capacities,
 both on the Lords day, and the other Festivals. Indeed,
 why should not both be observed alike; the Saints dayes
 being dedicated unto God, as the Lords day is; and stand-
 ing both of them on the same authoritie: on the au-
 thoritie of the Church, for the particular institution; on
 the authoritie of Gods Law, for the generall warrant.
 It was commanded by the Lord, and writt in the heart
 of man by the Penne of Nature, that certaine times
 should bee appointed for Gods publicke worship: the
 choycing of the times, was left to the Churches power;
 and shee designed the Saints dayes, as shee did the
 Lords; both his, and both allotted to his service onely.
 This made Saint Bernard ground them all, the Lords
 day, and the other holy dayes, on the fourth Comman-
 dement; the third, in the Account of the Church of Rome.
Serm. 3. Super Salve reg.
*Spirituale obsequium Dea prabetur in observantia sancto-
 rum sollemnitatum, unde tertium Præceptum contextitur:
 Observa diem Sabbati, i. e. in sacris feriis te exerce.*
 "There is, saith hee, a spirituall service due to God, in
 "the observation of the holy sollemnities, from whence
 "the third Commandement was given: Observe the Sab-
 "bath day, i. e. exercise thy selfe in the holy Festivals,
 "as thou oughtest to doe. So Saint Bernard in his third
 Sermon, *Super salve Regina.*

(12) The Lords day, and the holy dayes, or Saints
 dayes, being of so neere a kinne; wee must next see,
 what care was taken by the Church, in these presen-
 t Ages, for hallowing them unto the Lord. The times
 were certainly devout; and therefore the lesse questi-
 on to be made, but that the holy dayes were employed
 as they ought to bee; in hearing of the Word of
 God, receiving of the Sacraments, and pouring forth
 their prayers unto him. The sixe Generall Councell,
 holden at Constantinople, appointed; That those to
 whom the Cure of the Church was trusted, should on
 all

all dayes, *ἡμέρας δὲ τῆς νεκρῶν*, especially on the *Lords day*, instruct the Clergie and the people, out of the holy Scripture, in the wayes of godlinesse. I say the Clergie and the people: for in these times, the Revenue of the Church being great, and the Offerings liberall; there were, besides the *Parish Priest*, who had *Cure of Soules*, many assisting *Ministers*, of inferior Orders, which lived upon Gods holy Altar. Somewhat to this purpose, of preaching every Sunday, yea, and *Saints dayes* too, in the Congregation, we have seene before established in the Councell at *Mentz*, Anno 817. So for receiving of the Sacrament: whereas some would that it should be administered every day, *singulis in anno diebus*, as *Bertram* hath it, *lib. de corp. & sangu. Christi*: *Rabanus Maurus*, who lived 824. leaves it as a thing indifferent; advising all men notwithstanding, in case there be no lawfull let,

De Sermone pro-
prietat. l. 4. 10.

to communicate every *Lords day*. *Quotidie Eucharistia communione percipere nec vitupero nec laudo, omnibus tamen Dominicis diebus communicandum hortor, si tamen mens in affectu peccandi non sit*, as his words there are. And whereas this good custome had been long neglected, it was appointed, that the Sacrament should be administered every *Lords day*, by the Councell at *Aken*, Anno 836. *Ne forte qui longe est a Sacramentis quibus est redemptus, &c.* "Least, saith the Councell, they which keepe so much distance from the Sacraments of their redemption, on, be kept as much at distance from the fruition of their salvation. As for the holy dayes, or *Saints dayes*, there needed no such Canon, to enioyne on them the celebration of the Sacrament, which was annexed to them of course. So likewise for the *publike Prayers*, besides what scatteringly hath beene said in former places, the Coun-

Conc. Friburienf.
can. 26.

cell held at *Friburg*, Anno 895. hath determined thus: *Diebus Dominicis & sanctorum Festis, vigiliis & orationibus insistendum est, & ad missas cuilibet Christiano cum oblationibus currendum*; "That on the *Lords day*, and the *Festivals*

"*Festivals* of the *Saints*, every *Christian* was to be intent upon his *devotions*, to watch and pray, and goe to *Mass*, and there make his offering. Its true, the *Service* of the Church being in the *Latine*; and in those times, that *Language* being in some *Provinces* quite worne out; and in some others, growne into a different *Dialect*, from what it was: that part of Gods worship, which was *publicke Prayer*, served not so much to comfort and to edification, as it should have done. As for the outward adjuncts of Gods *publicke service*, on the Churches part, the principall was that of *Musicke*; which, in these *Ages*, grew to a perfect height. Wee shewed before, that *vocall Musicke* in the Church, is no lesse ancient than the *Liturgie* of the Church it selfe: which, as it was begun in *Ignatius* time, after the manner of *Plaine-Song*, or a melodious kinde of pronunciation, as before was said; so, in *S. Austins* time, it became so excellent, that it drew many to the Church; and consequently, many to the Faith. Now, to that *vocall Musicke* which was then in use, and of which formerly wee spake; it pleased the Church, in the beginning of these *Ages*, to adde *Instrumentall*: the *Organ* being added to the *Voyce*, by Pope *Vitalian*, Anno 653. almost 1000. yeeres agoe, and long before the aberration of the Church from its pristine pietie. And certainly, it was not done without good advice: there being nothing of that kinde more powerfull, than *Melodie* both *Vocall* and *Instrumentall*, for raising of mens hearts, and sweetning their affections towards God: Not any thing, wherein the *Militant Church* here on *Earth*, hath more resemblance to the Church in *Heaven Triumphant*; than in that sacred and harmonious way of singing prayse and *Allelujabs* to the Lord our God; which is, and hath of long beene used, in the Church of Christ.

(13) To bring this Chapter to an end: in all that hath beene said, touching the keeping of the *Lords day*, wee finde not any thing like a *Sabbath*; either in the practice

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of

of the Church, or Writings of particular men: how-ever these last Ages grew to such an height, in restraint of labours on this day; that they might seeme to have a minde, to revive that part of the fourth Commandement, Thou shalt doe no manner of worke upon it. For, where they tell us of this day, as before was said, that it was taken up by custome, on the authoritie of the Church; at most, on Apostolicall tradition; this makes it plaine, that they intended no such matter, as a Sabbath day: though, that the Congregation might assemble in the greater numbers, and men might joine together in all Christian duties, with the greater force; it pleased the Church, and principall Powers thereof, to restraine men from corporall labours, and binde them to repaire to the House of God. Or, if they did intend the Lords day for a Sabbath day; its plaine, they must have made more Sabbaths, than one day in seven: those holy dayes, which universally were observed in the Christian Church, being no otherwise to be kept, than the Lords day was; and those encreasing in these Ages, to so great a number, that they became a burthen to the common people. Nor is it likely, that being once free from the bondage of the Jewish Sabbath, they would submit themselves unto another, of their owne devising; and doe therewith, as the Idolaters of old with their wooden gods, first make them, and then presently fall downe and worship them. Rather, they tooke a course to restraine the Jewes, from sanctifying their Sabbath, and other Legall Festivals, as before they used: *Statutum est de Iudeis*, in the 12. Councell of Toledo, Anno 681. *Ne Sabbata, ceterasque Festivitates ritui sui, celebrare presumant*: "It is determined of the Jewes, that they presume no more to celebrate the Sabbath, and the other Festivals of their Religion. And not so onely: *Sed ut diebus Dominicis & ab opere cessent*; "But that they should refraine from labour on the Lords day also. Of any Sabbath to be kept in the Christian Church.

CAN. 20.

Church, some few might dreame perhaps, such filthie dreamers as Saint Iude speakes of: but they did onely dreame thereof; they saw no such matter. They which had better Visions, could perceive no Sabbath; but, in this life, a Sabbath, or a rest from sinne; and in the life to come, a Sabbath, or a rest from miserie. Plainely, Rupertus so conceived it; as great a Clerke as any, in the times wherein hee lived; which was in the beginning of the twelfth Centurie. *Nam sicut signum Circumcisionis incarnationem, &c.* "For as, saith hee, the signe of "Circumcision fore-shewed the incarnation of our Lord "and Saviour; the offering of the Paschall Lambe, his "death and passion: *Sic Sabbatismus ille requiem annuntiabat, quæ post hanc vitam posita est sanctis & electis*: "So did the Sabbath signifie that eternall rest, which after "this life is provided for the Saints, and elect of God. "And more than this: *Spiritualis homo non uno die Hebdomadis, sed omni tempore Sabbatizare satagit*; The "true spirituall man keepes not his Sabbath once a "weeke, but at all times what ever, every houre and "minute. What then? Would hee have no day set apart for Gods publike service? no: but not the Sabbath. "Because (saith hee) wee are not to rejoyce in this "World, that perisheth, but in the sure and certaine "hope of the Resurrection; therefore wee ought not to "rest the seventh day, in sloath and idlenesse: but wee "dispose our selves to Prayers, and hearing of the Word "of God, upon the first day of the Weeke, on the which "Christ rose: *Cum summa cura providentes, ut tam illo quam ceteris diebus feriatu semper simus à servili opere peccati*. Provided alwayes, that upon that, and "all dayes else, wee keepe our selves free from the "servile acts of sinne. This was the Sabbath which they principally looked for, in this present life; never applying that name to the Lords day, in any of those Monuments of Learning, they have left behinde them.

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The first who ever used it, to denote the *Lords day*, (the first that I have met with, in all this search) is one *Petrus Alfonsus*, (hee lived about the times that *Rupertus* did:) who calls the *Lords day* by the name of the *Christian Sabbath. Dies Dominica, dies vi. Resurrectionis, qua sua salvationis causa exiit, Christianorum Sabbatum est.* But this no otherwise to be construed, than by Analogie and resemblance; no otherwise, than the Feast of *Easter* is called the *Christian Pasche*; and *Whitsontide*, the *Christian Pentecost*. As for the *Saturday*, the old *Sabbath day*, though it continued not a *Sabbath*; yet it was still held in an high esteeme, in the *Easterne Churches*: counted a *Festival day*, or at least, no *Fast*; and honoured with the meetings of the Congregation. In reference to the first, wee finde how it was charged on the *Church of Rome*, by the sixt Councell in *Constantinople*, Anno 692. That in the holy time of *Lent*, *his tuncis orationibus*, they used to fast the *Saturday*; which was directly contrarie to the Canons of the *Apostles*, as they there alleage. This also was objected by *Photius*, Patriarke of *Constantinople*, against Pope *Nicholas* of *Rome*, Anno 867. and after that, by *Michael* of *Constantinople*, against *Leo* the ninth, Anno 1053. Which plainly shewes, that in the *Easterne Churches* they observed it otherwise. And in relation to the other, wee finde, that whereas in the principall *Church of Constantinople*, the holy Sacrament was celebrated onely on the greater Feasts, as also on the *Saturdayes* and the *Sundayes*, [*Sabbatis & Dominicis*] and not on other *dayes*, as at *Rome* it was: *Constantine*, surnamed *Monomachus*, Anno 1054. enriched it with Revenue, and bestowed much faire Plate upon it; that so they might be able, every day, to performe that Office. Which proves sufficiently, that *Saturday* was alwayes one, in all publicke duties; and that it kept even pace with *Sunday*.
But

Curopalat.

But it was otherwise, of old, in the *Church of Rome*; where they did *laborare & jejunare*, as *Humbertus* saith, in his defence of *Leo* the ninth against *Nicetas*. And this with little opposition, or interruption; save that which had beene made in the *Citie of Rome*, in the beginning of the seventh *Centurie*; and was soone crushed by *Gregorie* then Bishop there; as before wee noted. And howsoever *Urban*, of that name the second, did Hel. Boet. hist. l. 12. consecrate it to the *Weekly Service* of the *Blessed Virgin*; and instituted in the Councell held at *Clermont*, Anno 1095. that our *Ladies Office*, [*Officium B. Mariae*] should be said upon it; *Eandemque Sabbato quoque die, praecipua devotione, populum Christianum colere debere*; and that upon that day, all *Christian folke* should worship her with their best devotions: yet it continued still, as before it was, a *day of Fasting*, and of *Working*. So that in all this time, in 1200. yeeres, wee have found no *Sabbath*: nor doe wee thinke to meet with any, in the times that follow; either amongst the *Schoolemen*, or amongst the *Protestants*, which next shall come upon the Stage.

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CHAP.



CHAP. VI.

What is the judgement of the Schoole-men
and of the Protestants; and what the
practice of those Churches, in
this Lords day businesse.

(1) That in the judgement of the Schoole-men, the keeping of one day in seven, is not the morall part of the fourth Commandement. (2) As also that the Lords day is not founded on Divine Authoritie, but the Authoritie of the Church. (3) A Catalogue of the holy dayes drawne up, in the Councell of Lyons: and the new doctrine of the Schooles, touching the naturall sanctitie of the holy dayes. (4) In what estate the Lords day stood, in matter of restraint from labour, at the Reformation. (5) The Reformatours finde great fault, both with the said new doctrine, and restraints from labour on the Lords day. (6) That in the judgement of the Protestant Divines, the sanctifying of one day in seven, is not the morall part of the fourth Commandement. (7) As also that the Lords day hath no other ground on which to stand, than the Authority of the Church. (8) And that the Church hath power to change the day, and to transerre it to some other. (9) What is the practice of the Roman, Lutheran, and chiefly the Calvinian Churches on the Lords day, in matter of devotion, rest from labour, and sufferance of lawfull pleasures. (10) Dancing cryed downe by Calvin, and the French Churches; not in relation

to.

to the Lords day, but the sport it selfe. (11) In what estate the Lords day stands in the Easterne Churches: And that the Saturday is observed by the Ethiopians, as the Lords day is.

(1)



Wee are now come unto an Age, wherein the Learning of the World began to make a different shew, from what it did: to such a period of time, in which was made the greatest alteration in the whole fabricke of the Church, that ever any time could speake of. The Schoole-men, who sprung up in the beginning of the thirteenth Age, contracted Learning, which before was diffused and scattered, into fine subtilties and distinctions: the Protestants, in the beginning of the sixteenth, endeavouring to destroy those Buildings, which with such diligence and curiositie had beene erected by the Schoole-men; though they consented well enough in the present businesse, so farre as it concern'd the institution either of the Lords day, or the Sabbath. Of these, and what they taught, and did, in reference to the point in hand, wee are now to speake: taking along with us such other things of speciall note, as hapned in the Christian World, by which wee may learne any thing that concernes our businesse. And first, beginning with the Schoole-men; they tell us generally, of the Sabbath, that it was a Ceremonie; and that the fourth Commandement is of a different nature, from the other nine: That whereas all the other Precepts of the Decalogue, are simply Morall; the fourth, which is the third in their account, is partly Morall, partly Ceremoniall. *Morale quidem quantum ad hoc, quod homo deputet aliquod tempus vite suae, ad vacandum divinis, &c.* "Morall it is, in

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" this

“ this regard, that men must set apart some particular
 “ time, for Gods *publike service*: it being naturall to
 “ man, to destinate particular *times* to particular *actions*;
 “ as, for his *Dinner*, for his *Sleepe*, and such other *actions*.
 “ *Sed in quantum in hoc Præcepto determinatur speciale*
 “ *tempus in signum Creationis Mundi, sic est Præceptum*
 “ *Ceremoniale*. But in as much as that there is a day ap-
 “ pointed in the *Law* it selfe, in token of Gods *Rest*, and
 “ the *Worlds Creation*; in that respect, the *Law* is *Cere-*
 “ *moniall*. And *Ceremoniall* too they make it, in reference
 to the *Allegorie*; our Saviours *resting* in the *Grave* that
 day: and in relation to the *Analogicall* meaning of it, as
 it prefigureth our *eternall Rest* in the *Heaven of Glories*.
 Finally, they conclude of the *fourth Commandement*, that
 it is placed in the *Decalogue*, in *quantum est Præceptum*
Morale, non in quantum est Ceremoniale; onely so farre
 forth as it is *Morall*, and not as *Ceremoniall*: that is, that
 wee are bound by the *fourth Commandement*, to destinate
 some time to Gods *publike service*, which is simply *Mo-*
rall; but not the *seventh day*, which is plainly *Ceremo-*
niall. *Aquinas* so resolves it, for all the rest: his judge-
 ment in this point, (if Doctor *Prideaux* note be true, as
 I have no reason but to thinke so) being universally em-
 braced, and followed by all the *Schoole-men*, of what Sect
 soever. So that in him, wee have them all: all of them
 consonant in this point, to make up the *harmonie*; how-
 ever dissonant enough, in many others. But yet, that this
 consent may appeare the more full and perfect, wee will
 take notice of two others, men famous in the *Schooles*,
 and eminent for the times in which they lived. First,
Bonaventure, who lived in the same time with *Aquinas*,
 and dyed the same yeere with him, which was 1274.
 hath determined thus: *Intelligendum est quod Præcep-*
um illud habet aliquid, quod est vere morale, &c. “ It
 “ is to be conceived, saith hee, that in the *fourth Com-*
 “ *mandement* there is something, which is simply *Morall*;
 “ some-

In Orat. de Sab-
bat.

Serm. de decem
Præcept.

“ something againe, that is plainly *ceremoniall*; and
 “ something *mixt*. The sanctifying of a day, is *Morall*;
 “ the sanctifying of a *seventh day*, *ceremoniall*: rest from
 “ the workes of labour, being mixt of both. *Quod*
præcipit Deus sanctificationem, est Præceptum morale! Est
& in hoc præcepto aliquid ceremoniale, ut figuratio diei septi-
mae. Item contrahitur aliquid quod est partim morale, partim
ceremoniale, ut cessatio ab operibus. Lastly, *Tostatus*, Bi-
 shop of *Avila* in *Spaine*, hath resolved the same; *Aliquid*
est in eo juris naturalis, aliquid legalis: that in the fourth. In Exod. 20.
 Commandement there is something *naturall*, and some-
 thing *legall*; that it is partly *morall*, and partly *ceremoniall*.
Naturale est quod dum Deum colimus, ab aliis abstineamus,
&c. “ *Morall & naturall* it is, that for the time, we worship
 “ God, doe abstaine from every thing of what kind soever,
 “ which may divert our thoughts from that holy action.
 But that we should designe, in every weeke, one day unto
 that employment; and that the whole day bee thereto
 appointed; and that in all that day, a man shall doe no
 manner of worke: those things hee reckoneth there to bee
 ceremoniall.

(2) So for the *Lords day*, it is thus determined by *Aqui-* 2. 2. q. 122.
nas, that it depends on the authoritie of the Church, the art. 4. ad 4.
 custome and consent of Gods faithfull servants; and not on
 any obligation laid upon us, by the fourth Commande-
 ment. *Dies Dominica observantia in nova lege, succedit ob-*
servantia Sabbati, non ex vi præcepti legis, sed ex constitu-
tione Ecclesie & consuetudine populi Christiani. What
 followeth thereupon? *Et ideo non est ita arcta prohibitio*
operandi, in die Dominica, sicut in die Sabbati. Therefore,
 “ saith he, the prohibition of doing no worke on the *Lords*
 “ day, is not so rigorous and severe, as upon the *Sabbath*:
 “ many things being licensed on the one, which were for-
 “ bidden on the other: as dressing meat, and others of that
 kinde and nature. And not so onely, but hee gives us a
 dispensatur *facilius in nova lege*, an easier hope of dispen-
 sation

sation under the *Gospel*, in case upon necessitie, wee meddle with prohibited labours; than possibly could have been gotten under the *Law*. The like *Tostatus* tells us, though in different words: save that he doth extend the prohibition, as well to all the *feasts* of the *Old Testament*, as all the *holy dayes* of the new; and neither to the *Sabbath*, nor the *Lords day* onely. *In veteri lege major fuit strictio in observatione festerum, quam in nova lege*. How so? *In omnibus enim festivitibus nostris quantacunque sint, &c.* "Because, saith hee, in all our Festivals how great soever, whether they bee the *Lords days*, or the "Feasts of *Easter*, or any of the higher ranke, it is permitted to dresse meate, and to kindle fire, &c. As for the grounds whereon they stood, he makes this difference betweene them: that the *Jewes Sabbath* had its warrant, from divine Commandement; but that the *Lords day*, though it came in the place thereof, is founded onely on ecclesiasticall constitution. *Colebatur Sabbatum ex mandato Dei, cujus loco successit dies Dominica, & tamen manifestum est, quod observatio diei dominica, non est de jure divino, sed de jure humano Canonico.* "The *Sabbath* was "observed, saith he, by the *Lords Commandement*, into "the place whereof the *Lords day* succeeded: yet notwithstanding it is manifest that the observing of the "Lords day is not instituted by the *Law of God*, but the "Canon Law, or Constitution of the *Church*. This is plaine enough, and this he proves, because the *Church* hath still a power *mutare illum diem, vel totaliter tollere*, either to change the day, or take it utterly away, and to dispense touching the keeping of the same: which possibly it neither could, nor ought to doe, were the *Lords day* of any other institution, than the *Churches* onely. They onely have the power to repeale a *Law*, which had power to make it. *Qui habet institutionem, habet destitutionem*, as is the *Bishops* plea in a *Quare Impedit*. As for the first of these two powers, that by the *Church* the day may be transferred,

In 2^d xod. 20.
qu. 13.

In Math. 23.
qu. 148.

red, and abrogated; *Suarez* hath thus distinguished in it; *verum id esse absolute, non practice*: that is, as I conceive his meaning, that such a power is *absolutely* in the *Church*; though not convenient now to be put in practice. According unto that of *S. Paul*, which probably was the ground of the distinction, *All things are lawfull for mee, but all things are not expedient*. This is the generall tendency of the *Roman Schooles*, that which is publickly avowed, and made good amongst them. And howsoever *Petrus de Anchorana*, and *Nicholas Abbat* of *Palermo*, two learned *Canonists*; as also *Angelus de Clavasio*, and *Silvester de Prierate*, two as learned *Casuits*; seeme to defend the institution of the *Lords day* to have its ground and warrant on divine authoritie: yet did the generall current of the *Schooles*, and of the *Canonists* also, runne the other way. And in that current still it holds, the *Iesuites* and most learned men in the *Church of Rome*, following the generall and received opinion of the *Schoolemen*: whereof see *Bellarm. de cultu Sancti*. l. 3. c. 11. *Estius in 3. Sent. dist. 37. Sect. 13.* but specially *Azorius* in his *Institut. Moral. part. 2. cap. 2.* who gives us an whole Catalogue of them, which hold the *Lords day* to bee founded onely on the authoritie of the *Church*. Touching the other power, the power of *dispensation*, there is not any thing more certaine, than that the *Church* both may and doth dispense with such, as have therein offended against her *Canons*. The *Canons* in themselves doe profess as much; there being many *casus reservati*, as before wee said, expressed particularly in those *Lawes* and *Constitutions*, which have beene made about the keeping of this Day, and the other Festivals; wherein a dispensation lyeth, if wee disobey them: Many of these wee specified in the former Ages; and some occurre in these whereof now wee write. It pleased *Pope Gregory* the ninth, *Anno* *Decretal. l. 2. c. 1228.* to inhibit all contentious suites on the *Lords day* *ut. de feriis*, and the other Festivals; and to inhibit them so farre, cap. 5. that

that judgement given on any of them, should be counted void; *etiam consentientibus partibus*, although both parties were consenting. Yet was it with this clause, or reservation; *nisi vel necessitas urgeat, vel pietas suadeat*; unless necessity enforced, or pietie perswaded, that it should be done. So in a Synod holden in *Valladolid* [apud *vallem Olisi*] in the parts of *Spaine*, Anno 1322. a generall restraint was ratified, that had beene formerly in force; *quod nullus in diebus Dominicis & Festivis, agros colere audeat, aut manualia artificia exercere presumat*; "that none should henceforth follow Husbandry, or exercise himselfe in Mechanicke Trades upon the Lords day, or the other holy dayes: Yet was it with the same Proviso; *nisi urgente necessitate, vel evidenti pietatis causa*; unless upon necessity, or apparant pietie or charitie: in each of which, hee might have licence from the Priest, his owne Parish-Priest, to attend his businesse. Where still observe, that the restraint was no lesse peremptorie on the other holy dayes than on the Lords day.

Concil. Sabinen.
de feriis.

De Consecrat.
distin. 3. c. 1.

(3) These holy dayes, as they were named particularly in Pope *Gregories* Decretall; so was a perfect list made of them in the Synod of *Lyons*, Anno 1244. which being celebrated with a great concourse of people, from all parts of *Christendome*, the *Canons* and *Decrees* thereof, beganne forthwith to finde a generall admittance. The holy dayes allowed of there, were these that follow, *viz.* the feast of *Christs Nativity*, *Saint Stephen*, *S. Iohn the Evangelist*, the *Innocents*, *S. Silvester*, the *Circumcision* of our LORD, the *Epiphanie*, *Easter*, together with the weeke precedent, and the weeke succeeding, the three dayes in *Rogation* weeke, the day of *Christs ascension*, *Whitsunday*, with the two dayes after, *S. Iohn the Baptist*, the Feasts of all the twelve *Apostles*, all the Festivities of our Lady, *S. Lawrence*, all the *Lords dayes* in the yeere, *S. Michael the Archangell*, *All Saints*, *S. Martins*, the *Wakes* or *Dedication* of particular Churches, together with

with the Feasts of such *topicall* or *locall* Saints, which some particular people had beene pleased to honour, with a day particular amongst themselves. On these, and every one of them, the people were restrained, as before was said, from many severall kindes of worke, on paine of *Ecclesiasticall Censures* to be layd on them which did offend; unless, on some emergent causes, either of *charitie* or *necessitie*, they were dispensed with for so doing. In other of the *Festivals*, which had not yet attained to so great an height, the Councell thought not fit, perhaps by reason of their numbers, that men should be restrained from labour; as neither that they should bee encouraged to it, but left them to themselves, to bestow those times, as might stand best with their affaires, and the Common-wealth. For so the Synod did determine, *Reliquis festivitatibus qua per annum sunt, non esse plebem cogendam ad feriandum, sed nec prohibendam*. And in this state things stood a long time together, there being none that profer'd opposition, in reference to these restraints from labour on the greater Festivalls; though some there were, that thought the Festivals too many, on which those burden of restraints had unadvisedly beene imposed on the common people. *Nicholas de Clemangie*, complained much as of some other abuses in the Church, so of the multitude of holy dayes, which had of late times beene brought into it. And *Pet. de Aliaco* Cardinall of *Cambray*, in a discourse by him exhibited to the Councell of *Constance*, made publicke suite unto the *Fathers* there assembled, that there might be a stop in that kind, hereafter: as also that excepting *Sundayes* and the greater Festivals, *Liceret operari post auditum officium*, it might bee lawfull for the people, after the end of Divine Service, to attend their businesses: the poore especially, as having little time enough on the working dayes, *Ad vita necessaria procuranda*, to get their livings. But these were onely the expressions of well-wishing men.

Ap. Hospin c. 43
de festi. Christi.

men. The Popes were otherwise resolved, and did not onely keepe the *holy dayes*, which they found established, in the same state in which they found them; but added others daily, as they saw occasion. At last it came unto that passe, by reason of that rigorous and exact kinde of rest, which by the Canon Law had beene fastned on them; that both the *Lords day*, and the other Festivals, were accounted *holy*, not in relation to the use made of them, or to the holy actions done on them, in the honour of God: but in and of themselves considered, they were avowed to bee *vere aliis sanctiores*, truely and properly invested with a greater sanctitie than the other dayes. Yea so farre did they goe at last, that it is publickly maintained in the *Schooles of Rome*, *Nonsublata esse, sed mutatam tantum* [in novo Testamento] *significationem & discretionem dierum*: that the difference of dayes and times, and the mysterious significations of the same, which had before beene used in the *Jewish Church*; was not abolished, but onely changed in the Church of Christ. *Aquinas* did first leade this Dance, in fitting every *legall Festivall*, with some that were observed in the Christian Church; laying this ground, that ours succeeded in the place of theirs. *Sabbatum mutatur in diem Dominicum; similiter aliis solennitatibus veteris legis nova solennitates succedunt*: "The Sabbath was translated into "the *Lords day*, accordingly to other the solemnities of "the old Law, there succeeded new; as his words there are. Upon which ground of his, the doctrines now remembered were, no question, raised: and howsoever other men might think all dayes alike in themselves considered; yet those of *Rome*, will have some holier than the rest, even by a naturall and inherent holinesse.

(4) And in this state things stood, both for the Doctrine and the practice, untill such time as men beganne to looke into the errors and abuses in the Church of *Rome*, with a more serious eye than before they did: the *Can-*

Bellarmino de cultu
S. l. 3. c. 10.

1. 2. e. qu. 103.
Art. 3. ad 4.

nists being no lesse nice, in the point of practice; than were the *Schoole-men*, and the rest, exorbitant, in point of *Doctrine*. Whose niceties, especially in matter of restraint, wee have most fully represented to us by *Tostatus* - In *Exod. 12.* *tu*: one, that had runne thorow all the parts of *Learning* at that time on foot; and was as well studied in the *Canon*, as in the *Schooles*. He then determineth of it thus: *Itinerando pro negotiis peccatum esse mortale, &c.* Hee that doth travaile on the *holy dayes* (for in that generall name the *Lords day*, and the other Festivals, are comprehended) about worldly businesse, commits *mortall sinne*; as also if he Trade or Traffick in the place, wherein he liveth. But this hath two exceptions, or reservations: First, if the businesse by him done, bee but small and light, *Qua quietem Sabbati non impediunt*, such as are no great hindrance to the *Sabbaths* rest; and secondly, *Nisi hoc sit in causa pia*, unlesse it were on some devout and pious purpose. To reade unto, or teach a man; to deale in actions of the Law, or determine suites, or to cast accounts: *Qu. 26.* *Si quis doceret ut lucretur*, if it be done for hire, or for present gaine, become servile workes, and are forbidden; Otherwise, if one doe it *gratis*. If a Musitian waite upon a Gentleman, to recreate his minde with Musicke, and that they are agreed on a certaine wages; or that hee be hired onely for a present turne; hee sinnes, in case hee play, or sing unto him on the *holy dayes*: but not if his reward be doubtfull; and depends onely upon the bounty of the parties, who enjoy his Musicke. A Cooke which on the *holy dayes*, is hired to make a feast, or to dresse a dinner; doth commit mortall sinne: *sed non pro toto mense aut anno*, but not if he be hired by the month, or by the yeere. Meat may be dressed upon the *Lords day*, or the other *holy dayes*: but to wash dishes on those dayes, was esteemed unlawfull; *Et differri in diem alteram*, and was to be deferred till another day. *Lawyers*, that doe their Clients businesse for their wonted fee, were not to draw their Bills,

In *Exod. 12.*

Qu. 25.

Qu. 26.

Qu. 27.

Qu. 28.

Qu. 29.

Qu. 30.

Bills, or frame their answers, or peruse their Evidences on the *holy dayes*: *Secus si causam agerent pro miserabilibus personis, &c.* But it was otherwise, if they dealt for poore indigent people, such as did sue in *forma Pauperis*, as wee call it; or in the causes of a Church, or Hospitall, in which the Popes had pleased to grant a dispensation. A man that travelled on the *holy dayes*, to any speciall *shrine* or *Saint*, did commit no sinne, *Si autem in redeundo, peccatum est mortale*; but if he did the like in his comming backe, hee then sinned mortally. In any place where formerly it had been the custome, neither to draw water nor to sweep the house, but to have those things ready on the day before; the custome was to bee observed; where no such custome is, there they may be done. Actions of long continuance, if they were delightfull, as if one played three or foure houres together on a Muscical Instrument; were not unlawfull on the *holy dayes*: yet possibly they might be sinfull, *Ut si quis hoc ageret ex lascivia*, as if one played only out of wantonnesse, or otherwise were so intent upon his Musicke, that hee went not to *Masse*. Artificers which worke on the *holy dayes* for their owne profit onely are in mortall sinne; unlesse the worke be very small, *Quia modicum non facit solennitatem dissolui*, because a little thing dishonours not the Festivall: *De minimis non curat lex*, as our saying is. Contrary *Butchers, Vintners, Bakers, Costermongers*, sinned not in selling their commodities; because more profit doth redound to the Common-wealth, which cannot be without such commodities, than to them that sell; yet this extended not to *Drapers, Shoemakers*, or the like, because there is not such a present necessitie for new clothes, as meat. Yet where the custome was, that *Butchers* did not sell on the *holy dayes*, but specially not upon the *Lords day*; that commendable custome was to be observed; though in those places also, it was permitted to the *Butcher*; that on those dayes, at some convenient times thereof, hee might make ready what was

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to bee sold the morrow after, as kill and skinne his bestiall which were fit for sale; in case hee could not doe it with so much convenience, [*non ita congruè*] at another time. To write out or transcribe a Booke, though for a mans owne private use, was esteemed unlawfull, except it were exceeding small; because this put no difference betweene the *holy dayes*, and the other: yet was it not unlawfull neither, in case the Argument were spiritual; nor for a *Preacher* to write out his *Sermons*, or for a *Student* to provide his *Lecture* for the day following. *Windmills* were suffered to bee used on the *holy dayes*, not *Watermills*: because the first required lesse labour and attendance, than the other did. This is the reason in *Tostatus*, though I can see no reason in it; the passage of the water being once let runne, being of more certaintie and continuance, than the changeable blowing of the winde. But to proceed, *Ferry-men* were not to transport such men, in their Boates or Wherries, as did begin their journey on an *holy day*; unlesse they went to *Masse*, or on such occasions: but such as had begunne their journey, and now were in pursuit thereof, might bee ferried over; *Quia forte carebunt victu*, because they may perhaps want victuals, if they doe not passe. To reparaire *Churches* on the *Lords day*, and the other *holy dayes*, was accounted lawfull; in case the Workemen did it gratis, and that the Church were poore, not able to hire Workemen on the other dayes: not if the Church were rich, and in case to doe it. So also to build Bridges, reparaire the Walls of Townes and Castles, or other publicke edifices, on those dayes, was not held unlawfull; *Si instent hostes*, in case the enemy bee at hand: though otherwise not to bee done, where no danger was. These are the speciall points observed and published by *Tostatus*. And these I have the rather exactly noted, partly that wee may see in what estate the *Lords day*, and the other *holy dayes*, were in the Church of *Rome*, what time the

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reformation of Religion was first set on foot: but principally to let others see, how neere they come in their new fancies and devises, unto the nicities of those men whom they most abhorre.

(5) Thus stood it, as before I said, both for the Doctrine and the practice, till men began to looke into the errours and abuses in the Roman Church, with a more serious eye than before they did: and at first sight, they found what little pleased them, in this particular. Their doctrine pleased them not, in making one day holier than another; not onely in relation to the use made of them, but to a naturall and inherent holinesse, wherewith they thought they were invested. Nor did their practice please much more, in that they had imposed so many burdens of restraint, upon the consciences of Gods people; and thereby made that day a punishment, which was intended for the ease of the labouring man. Against the doctrine of these men, and the whole practice of that Church, Calvin declares himselfe in his Booke of Institutions; And therewith taxeth those of Rome, *Qui Iudaica opinione populum superioribus seculis imbuerunt*, who in the times before possessed the poples mindes with so much Iudaisme; that they had changed the day-indeed, as in dishonour of the I-w, but otherwise retained the former sanctitie thereof; which needes must bee, saith hee, if there remaine with us, (as the Papists taught) the same opinion of the mysteries and various significations of dayes and times, which the Iewes once had. And certainly, saith hee, wee see what dangerous effects have followed, on so false a doctrine: those which adhere to their instructions, having exceedingly out-gone the Iewes, *Crasa carnalique Sabbatismi superstitione*, in their grosse and carnall superstitions about the Sabbath. Beza his Scholler and Acates, sings the selfe-same Song, that howsoever the assemblies of the Lords day were of Apostolicall and diuine tradition: *Sic tamen ut Iudaica cessatio*

cessatio ab omni opere non observaretur, quoniam hoc plane fuisset judaismum non abolere, sed tantum, quod ad diem arctinet, immutare; "yet so that there was no cessation from worke, required, as was observed among the Iewes. For that, saith hee, had not so much abolished Iudaisme, as put it off and changed it to another day. And then he addes, that this cessation was first brought in by Constantine, and afterwards confirmed with more and more restraints, by the following Emperours: by meanes of which it came to passe, that that which first was done for a good intent, viz. that men being free from their worldly busineses, might wholly give themselves to hearing of the Word of God; *In merum Iudaismum degeneravit*, degenerated at the last, into downe-right Iudaisme. So for the Lutheran Churches, Chemnitius challengeth the Romanists of superstition, *Quasi Dominica diei & reliquis diebus festis, per se, peculiaris quadam insit sanctitas*, because they taught the people that the holy dayes, considered onely in themselves had a native Sanctitie. And howsoever for his part hee thinke it requisite, that men should bee restrained from all such workes, as may bee any hindrance unto the sanctifying of the Day: yet hee accounts it but a part of the Iewish leaven; *Nimis scrupulose diebus festis prohibere operas externas, quae vel quando, non impediunt publicum ministerium;* "so scrupulously to prohibit such externall Actions which are at all no hindrance to Gods publicke service. Bucer goes further yet, and doth not onely call it a superstition, but an apostasie from CHRIST, to thinke that working on the Lords day, in it selfe considered, is a sinnefull thing. *Si existimetur operari in eo die, per se, esse peccatum, supersticio, & gratiae Christi, qui ab elementis mundi nos suo sanguine liberavit, negatio est:* as his owne words are. "Then addes, that hee did very well approve of the Lords day meetings, *Si eximatur e cordibus hominum opinio necessitatis*, if men were once

“ dispossessed of these opinions, that the day was necessary
 “ to be kept; that it was holier, in it selfe, than the other
 “ dayes; and that to worke upon that day, in it selfe, was
 sinfull. Lastly, the Churches of the *Switzers* professe in
 their Confession, that in the keeping of the *Lords day*, they
 give not the least hint to any *Jewish* superstitions. *Neque*
enim alteram diem altera sanctiorem esse credimus, nec oti-
um Deo, per se, probari existimamus. “ For neither, (as
 “ they said) doe we conceive one day to be more holy, than
 “ another; or thinke that rest from labour, in it selfe con-
 “ sidered, is any way pleasing unto God. By which wee
 plainly may perceive, what is the judgement of *Protes-*
tant Churches in the present point.

(6) Indeed it is not to bee thought, that they could
 otherwise resolve and determine of it, considering what
 their doctrine is of the day it selfe; how different they
 make it from a *Sabbath day*: which doctrine that wee
 may perceive with the greater ease, wee will consider it
 in three propositions, in which most agree: 1. That the
 keeping holy one day of seven, is not the *Morall part* of the
 fourth Commandement, or to be reckoned as a part of the *Law*
of Nature: 2. That the *Lords day* is not founded on *Divine*
Commandement, but onely on the *authoritie of the Church*; and
 3. That the *Church* hath still *authoritie to change the*
day, and to transerre it to some other. First for the first, it
 seemes that some of *Rome*, considering the restraints be-
 fore remembred, and the new doctrine thence arising,
 about the *naturall* and *inherent holinesse* which one day
 had above another; had altered what was formerly de-
 livered amongst the *Schoolemen*: and made the keeping
 of one day, in seven, to bee the *Morall part* of the fourth
 Commandement: This *Calvin* chargeth them withall,
 that they had taught the people in the former times, that
 whatsoever was *ceremoniall* in the fourth Commande-
 ment, which was the keeping of the *Jewes seventh day*,
 had beene long since abrogated: *Remanere vero quod mo-*
rale.

Cap. 12.

instit. l. 2. c. 8.
 33. 34.

rale est, nempe unius diei observationem in hebdomada, but
 “ that the *morall part* thereof, which was the keeping of
 “ one day in seven, did continue still. With what else is
 “ it; as before was said, then in dishonour of the *Jewes*,
 “ to change the day; and to affixe as great a sanctitie
 “ thereunto, as the *Jewes* ever did. As for his owne
 part hee professeth, that howsoever hee approved of the
Lords day meetings, *Non tamen numerum septenarium*
ita se morari, ut ejus servituti ecclesias astringeret; yet
 “ stood not hee so much for the number of seven, as to
 “ confine the Church unto it. If *Calvin* else-where be of
 another minde, and speake of keeping holy one day in
 seven, as a matter necessary; (which some say hee doth:)
 either they must accuse him of much inconstancie, and for-
 getfulness; or else interpret him, with *Ryuet*, as speaking
 of an *ecclesiasticall custome*, not to be neglected; *non de ne-*
cessitate legis divinae, and not of any obligation layed upon
 us by the *Law of God*. Neither is hee the onely one that
 hath so determined. *Simler* hath said it more expressly;
Quod dies una culini divino consecratur, ex lege natura est; in *Exod. 16.*
quod autem hac sit septima, non octava, nona, aut decima, ju-
ris est divini, sed ceremonialis: “ That one day should be
 “ set apart for Gods publike worship, is the *Law of nature*;
 “ but that this day should bee the seventh, and not the
 “ eighth, ninth, or tenth, was of *divine appointment*, but
 as *ceremoniall*. *Aretius* also in his *Common places*, distin-
 guished betweene the *substance* of the *Sabbath*, and the
 “ time thereof: the *substance* of it, which was rest, and
 “ the workes of *pietie*, being in all times to continue; *tem-*
pus autem, ut septimo die observetur, hoc non fuit necessari-
um in ecclesia Christi, but for the time, to keepe it on the
 “ seventh day alwaies, that was not necessary in the *Church*
 “ of *Christ*. So also *Francisc. Gomarus*, that great under-
 taker against *Arminius*, in a Booke written purposely, *De*
origine & institutione Sabbati, affirmes for certaine, that it
 can neither be made good by the *Law of Nature*, or *Text*
 of

Loc. 55.

of Scripture, or any solid argument drawne from thence, *Unum e septem diebus ex vi praecepti quarti ad cultum Dei necessario observandum*, that by the fourth Commandement, one day in seven, is of necessitie to be dedicated to Gods service. And Ryuet, as profest an enemy of the Remonstrants, though for the antiquitie of the Sabbath, he differeth from the said Gomarus; yet hee agreeth with him in this: not onely making the observance of one day in seven, to bee meere positive, as in our first part wee observed; but layes it downe for the received opinion of most of the Reformed Divines, *Unum ex septem diebus, non esse necessario eligendum, ex vi praecepti, ad sacros conventus celebrandos*; the very same with what Gomarus affirmed before. So lastly for the Lutheran Churches, Chemnitius makes it part of our Christian liberty, *quod nec sint alligati nec debeant alligari ad certorum, vel dierum, vel temporum observationes, opinione necessitatis, in Novo Testamento, &c.* "That men are neither bound, nor ought to bee, unto the observation of any dayes, or times, as matters necessary, under the Gospel of our Saviour: though otherwise he account it for a barbarous folly, not to observe that day with all due solemnitie, which hath for so long time beene kept by the Church of God. Therefore in his opinion also, the keeping of one day in seven, is neither any morall part of the fourth Commandement, or parcell of the Law of Nature. As for the subtil shift of Amesius finding, that keeping holy of one day in seven, is positive indeed, *Sed immutabilis plane institutionis*, but such a positive Law as is absolutely immutable; and doth as much oblige, as those which in themselves are plainly naturall and morall: it may then serve, when there is nothing else to help us. For that a positive law should be immutable in it selfe; and in its own nature, be as universally binding, as the morall law; is such a piece of learning, and of contradiction, as never was put up to shew, in these latter times, But he had learnt his lilly in England,

In Zuod. 20.
p. 190.

Medull Theol.
3. 3. 15.

England, here; and durst not broach it but by halves, amongst the Hollanders.

(7) For the next Thesis, that the Lords day is not founded on divine Commandement, but the authority of the Church: it is a point so universally resolved on, as no one thing more: And first we will begin with Calvin, who tels us how it was not without good reason, that those of old, appointed the Lords day, as we call it, to supply the place of the Jewish Sabbath. *Non sine delectu, Dominicum, quem vocamus diem, veteres in locum Sabbati subrogarunt*, as his words there are. Where none, I hope, will thinke, that he would give our Saviour Christ, or his Apostles, such a short come off, as to include them in the name of Veteres, only: which makes it plaine, that he conceived it not to be their appointment. Bucer resolves the point more cleerly, *Communi Christianorum consensu Dominicum diem publicis Ecclesiae conventibus ac requieti publica, dictum esse, ipso statim Apostolorum tempore: viz.* "That in the Apostles times, the Lords day by the common consent of Christian people, was dedicated unto publike rest, and the assemblies of the Church. And Peter Martyr, upon a question asked, why the old seventh day was not kept in the Christian Church; makes answer, That upon that day, and on all the rest, we ought to rest from our own works, the works of sin. *Sed quod is magis quam ille, eligatur ad externum Dei cultum, liberum fuit Ecclesiae per Christum, ut id consuleret quod ex re magis judicaret: nec illa pessime judicavit, &c.* "That this was rather chose than that, for Gods publike service, that, saith he, Christ left totally unto the liberty of the Church, to do therein what should seeme most expedient; and that the Church did very well in that she did prefer the memory of the resurrection, before the memory of the creation. These two I have the rather thus joyned together, as being sent for into England in King Edwards time, and placed by the Protector in our Universities, the better to establish reformation, at that time begun: and

doubt we not, but that they taught the self-same Doctrine (if at the least they touched at all upon that point) with that now extant in their writings: At the same time with them lived *Bullinger*, and *Gualter*, two great learned men. Of these, the first informes us, *Hunc diem, loco Sabbati, in memoriam resurgentis Domini delegisse sibi Ecclesiam*, that "in memoriall of our Saviour's Resurrection, the Churches "set apart this day, in the *Sabbaths* steed, whereon to hold "their solemne and religious meetings. And after, *Sponsae receperunt Ecclesia illam diem, non legimus eam ullibi preceptam*, "that of their owne accord, and by their owne "authoritie, the Church made choice thereof for the use "aforesaid; it being no where to bee found, that it was "commanded. *Gualter*, more generally, that the *Christians* first assembled on the *Sabbath day*, as being then most famous, and so most in use: but when the Churches were augmented, *Proximus à Sabbato dies, rebus sacris destinatus*, the next day after the *Sabbath* was designed to those holy uses. If not before, then certainly not so commanded by our Saviour *Christ*: and if designed onely, then not enjoined by the *Apostles*. Yea *Beza* though herein he differ from his Master, *Calvin*; and makes the *Lords day* meetings, *Apostolica & vera divina traditionis*, to bee indeed of *Apostolicall* and *divine tradition*: yet being a *tradition* onely, although *Apostolicall*, it is no *commandement*. And more than that, he tels us in another place, that from *Saint Pauls* preaching at *Troas*, and from the Text, *1 Corinth. 16. 2. Non inepte colligi*, it may be gathered not unfitly, that then the *Christians* were accustomed to meete that day; the ceremony of the *Jewish Sabbath*, beginning by degrees, to vanish. But sure the *custome* of the people makes no *divine traditions*; and such conclusions, as not unfitly may bee gathered from the Text, are not Text it selfe. Others there be, who attribute the changing of the day, to the *Apostles*; not to their *Precept*, but their *prudence*. So *Mercer*, *Apostoli in Dominicum converterunt*, the

In Apoc. 1.

In Act. Ap. bom. 133.

1796, 1. 10.

In Act. 10.

In Gen.

the *Apostles* changed the *Sabbath* to the *Lords day*. *Paraus* attributes the same, *Apostolica Ecclesia*, unto the *Apostolicall Church*, or *Church* in the *Apostles* time: *Quomodo autem facta sit hac mutatio in Sacris Literis expressum non habemus*; "but how, by what *authoritie* such a "change was made, is not delivered (as hee confesseth) "in the *Scripture*. And *Iohn Cucklinus*, though hee call it *consuetudinem Apostolicam*, an *Apostolicall custome*; yet hee is peremptorie, that the *Apostles* gave no such *Commandement*: *Apostolos Preceptum reliquisse, constanter negamus*. So *Simler* calls it onely, *consuetudinem tempore Apostolorum receptam*, a custome taken up in the *Apostles* time. And so *Hospinian*: "Although, saith hee, "it be apparant, that the *Lords day* was celebrated in the "place of the *Jewish Sabbath*, even in the times of the "*Apostles*; *Non invenitur tamen vel Apostolos, vel alios, "Legere aliqua & Precepto, observationem ejus instituisse*: "yet finde we not, that either they, or any other, did institute the keeping of the same, by any *Law* or *Precept*, "but left it free. Thus *Zanchius*: *Nullibi legimus Apostolos, &c.* "Wee doe not read, saith hee, that the "*Apostles* commanded any to observe this day: wee "onely read, what they and others did upon it; *Liberrum ergo reliquerunt*: which is an argument, that they "left it to the *Churches* power. To those, adde *Vrsin* in *Calch. Talat*, in his exposition on the *fourth Commandement*; *Liberum Ecclesia reliquit alios dies eligere*, that it was left unto the *Church*, to make choice of any day; and that the *Church* made choice of this, in honour of our Saviour's *Resurrection*: And so *Aretius* in his *Common Places*: *Christiani in Dominicum transtulerunt*; that by the *Christian* people, the *Sabbath* was translated to the *Lords day*. *Gomarus*, and *Ryvet*, in the Tracts before remembred, have determined further, viz. That in the choosing of this day, the *Church* did exercise as well her *Wisedome*, as her *Freedom*: her *Freedom*, being not obliged unto any day, by the

In Theob. p. 733.

De Festis Chr.

p. 24.

In 4. Precept.

the Law of God: her *Wisdom*, *Ne majori mutatione Fundaos offenderet*; that by so small an alteration, shee might the lesse offend the *Jewes*, who were then considerable. As for the *Lutheran Divines*; it is affirmed by Doctor *Bound*, That for the most part they ascribe too much unto the libertie of the Church, in appointing dayes for the assembly of the people: which is plaine confession. But for particulars; *Brentius*, as Doctor *Prideaux* tells us, calls it *Civilem Institutionem*, a *Civill Institution*, and no *Commandement* of the Gospel: Which is no more indeed, than what is elsewhere said by *Calvin*, when hee accounts no otherwise thereof, than, *ut remedium retinendo ordini necessarium*, as a fit way to retaine order in the Church. And sure I am, *Chemnitius* tells us, that the *Apostles* did not impose the keeping of this day, as *necessarie*, upon the Consciences of Gods people, by any Law or Precept whatsoever: *sed libera fuit observatio ordinis gratia*; but that for orders sake, it had beene voluntarily used amongst them, of their owne accord.

(8) Thus have wee proved, that by the Doctrine of the *Protestants*, of what side soever, and those of greatest credit in their severall Churches; eightene by name, and all the *Lutherans* in generall, of the same opinion; That the *Lords day* is of no other institution, than the *Authoritie* of the Church. Which proved, the last of the three *Theses*, That still the Church hath power to change the day, and to transferre it to some other; will follow of it selfe, on the former grounds: the *Protestant* Doctors before remembred, in saying that the Church did institute the *Lords day*, as wee see they doe; confessing tacitely, that still the Church hath power to change it. Nor doe they tacitely confesse it, as if they were afraid to speake it out: but some of them in plaine tearmes affirme it, as a certaine truth. *Zwinglius*, the first reformer of the *Switzers*, hath resolved it so, in his Discourse against one *Valentine Gentilis*, a new *Arrian* Here-
like.

like. *Audi mi Valentine, quibus modis & rationibus, Sabbathum Ceremoniale reddatur*: "Harken now, *Valentine*, "by what wayes and meanes the Sabbath may be made a "Ceremonie: if either wee observe that day which the "Jewes once did; or thinke the *Lords day* so affixed unto "any time, *ut nefas sit illum in aliud tempus transferre*, "that wee conceive it an impietie, it should be changed unto another; on which, as well as upon that, wee "may not rest from labour; and harken to the Word of "God: if perhaps such necessitie should be, this would "indeed make it become a Ceremonie. Nothing can be more plaine than this. Yet *Calvin* is as plaine; when hee professeth, That hee regarded not so much the number of seven, *ut ejus servituti Ecclesias astringeret*, as to enthrall the Church unto it. Sure I am, Doctor *Prideaux* reckoneth him, as one of them; who teach us, that the Church hath power to change the day, and to transferre it to some other: And that *John Barclay* makes report, *In Orat. de Sabbatho*, how once hee had a Consultation, *de transferenda Dominica in Feriam quintam*, of altering the *Lords day* unto the *Thursday*. *Bucer* affirmes as much, as touching the *Authoritie*; and so doth *Bullinger*, and *Brentius*, *Ursine*, and *Chemnitius*, as Doctor *Prideaux* hath observed. Of *Bullinger*, *Bucer*, *Brentius*, I have nought to say, because the places are not cited; but take it, as I thinke I may, upon his credit. But for *Chemnitius*, hee saith often, that it is *libera observatio*, a voluntarie observation; that it is an especiall part of our *Christian libertie*, not to be tyed to dayes and times, in matters which concerne Gods service; and that the *Apostles* made it manifest by their example, *Singulis diebus, vel quocunque die*, That every day, or any day, may by the Church be set apart for Religious Exercises. And as for *Ursine*, hee makes this difference betweene the *Lords day*, and the Sabbath, "that it was
"utterly unlawfull to the Jewes, either to neglect or
"change
Tom. 1 p. 254. a.
Catech. q. 103.

" change the Sabbath, without expresse Commandement
 " from God himselfe, as being a Ceremoniall part of divine
 " worship: but for the Christian Church, that may designe
 " the first, or second, or any other day, to Gods publike ser-
 " vice; so that our Christian libertie be not thereby in-
 " fringed, or any opinion of necessitie or holinesse affixt
 " unto them: *Ecclesia vero Christiana primum, vel alium
 diem, tribuit Ministerio, salva sua libertate, sine opinione
 cultus vel necessitatis*; as his words there are. To these,
 Dom. 17. post
 Trinit.
 adde Dietericus, a Lutheran Divine: who, though hee
 makes the keeping of one day in seven, to be the Morall
 part of the fourth Commandement; yet for that day, it
 may be *dies Sabbati*, or *dies Solis*, or *quicumque alius*, Sun-
 day, or Saturday, or any other, be it one in seven. And so
 Hospinian is perswaded: *Dominicum diem mutare & in
 alium transferre licet, &c.* " That if the occasions of the
 " Church doe so require, the Lords day may be changed
 " unto any other: provided, it be one of seven; and that
 " the change be so transacted, that it produce no scandall
 " or confusion in the Church of God. Nay, by the Do-
 ctine of the Helvetian Churches, every particular Church
 may destinate what day they please, to Religious Meetings,
 to publike Prayers, Preaching the Word, and ministring
 the Sacraments. For so they give it up in their Confession:
 Cap. 2.
*Deligit ergo quævis Ecclesia sibi certum tempus ad preces
 publicas, & Evangelii prædicationem, nec non Sacramento-
 rum celebrationem.* And howsoever, for their owne parts,
 they kept that day, which had beene set apart for those
 holy uses, even from the time of the Apostles; yet, that
 they conceived it free, to keepe the Lords day, or the
 Sabbath; *Sed & Dominicum, non Sabbatum, libera obser-
 vatione, celebramus.* Some Sectaries, since the Reforma-
 tion, have gone further yet, and would have had all dayes
 alike, as unto their use; all equally to be regarded: and
 reckoned, that the Lords day, as the Church continued it,
 was a Jewish Ordinance; thwarting the Doctrine of Saint
 Paul,

Paul, who seemed to them to abrogate that difference of
 dayes, which the Church retained. This was the fancie,
 or the frenzie rather of the Anabaptist, taking the hint
 perhaps from something, which had beene formerly de-
 livered by some wiser men; and after them, of the Swinck-
 feildian, and the Familist: as in the times before, of the
 Petro-Brusians, and (if Waldensis wrong him not) of
 Wiclef also.

(9) Such being the doctrine of those Churches, the
 Protestant, and those of Rome, it is not to be thought but
 that their practice is according; Both make the Lords day
 onely an Ecclesiasticall constitution, and therefore keepe
 it so farre forth, as by the Canons of their Churches, they
 are enjoyned. These what they are at Rome, and those of
 her obedience, wee have seene already; and little hath
 beene added since. It hath not beene, of late, a time, to
 make new restraints; rather to mitigate the old, to lay
 downe such which were most burdennome, and grievous
 to bee borne withall. And so it seemes they doe, Azorius
 the Iesuite being more remisse, in stating and determining
 the restraints, imposed on the Lords day, and the other
 holy dayes, than Tostatus was, who lived in safer times by
 farre, than these now present: nor is their Discipline so
 severe, as their Canon, neither. So that the Lords day
 there, for ought I could observe, when I was amongst
 them, is solemnized much after the same manner as with
 us in England: repairing to the Church, both at Masse
 and Vespers, riding abroad or walking forth to take the
 ayre, or otherwise to refresh themselves, and following
 their honest pleasures at such leasure times, as are not de-
 stinate to the publike meetings; the people not being bar-
 red from travelling about their lawfull busines, as occasion
 is, so they reserve some time for their devotions in the pub-
 like. Which is indeed agreeable to the most antient and
 most laudable custome, in the Church of God. Now for the
 Protestant Churches, the Lutherans doe not differ much,
 from

from that which wee have said before, of the *Church of Rome*; and therefore there is nothing to be said of them. But for the rest which follow *Calvin*, and thinke themselves the onely *Orthodoxe* and *reformed Churches*; wee will consider them in three severall circumstances: first, in the exercise of *Religious duties*; secondly, in restraint from *Labours*; and thirdly, in permission of *Recreations*. And first, for the exercise of *Religious duties*, they use it in the morning onely; the afternoon being left at large, for any, and for every man, to dispose thereof, as to him seemes fitting. So is it in the *Churches* of high *Germania*, those of the *Palatinate*, and all the others of that mould. For I have heard from Gent. of good repute, That at the first reception of the Ladie *Elizabeth* into that Countrey, on *Sunday* after Dinner, the Coaches and the Horses were brought forth; and all the Princes Court betooke themselves unto their pleasures, *Hunting* or *Hawking*, as the season of the yeere was fit for either. Which, when it seemed strange at first to those *English* Lords and Gentlemen, which did attend the *Princessse* thither; answer was made, it was their custome so to doe; and that they had no *Evening-Service*, but ended all the *publike duties* of the day, with the *Morning Sermon*. Nor is this, Custome onely, and no more but so: there is a *Canon* for it, in some places; it must be no otherwise. For in the first Councell of *Dort*, Anno 1574. it was decreed, *Publica Vespertina preces non sunt introducende, ubi non sunt introducta; ubi sunt, tollantur*: "That in such *Churches* where *publike Evening Prayer* had not beene admitted, it should continue as it was; and where they were admitted, they should be put downe. So Doctor *Smith* relates the *Canon* (if so irregular a Decree may deserve that name) in his *Collat. Doctr. Cathol. & Protest. cap. 68. Art. 1.* And so it stood, till the last Synod of *Dort*, Anno 1618. what time, to raise the reputation of the *Palatine Catechisme*, being not long after to be admitted into their

Canon,

Art. 46.

Canon, it was concluded, that *Catechisme-Lectures* should be read each *Sunday* in the after-noon; not to be layd aside, *propter auditorum infrequentiam*, for want of *Auditors*. Now, to allure the people thither, being before staved off by a former Synod, it was provided, that their *Ministers* should reade howsoever, *Coram paucis auditoribus, immo vel coram suis famulis tantum*. Though few were present, or none but their domesticke servants; in hope by little and little to attract the people. And secondly, it was resolved on, to implore the *Civill Magistrate*, *Ut opera omnia servilia, seu quotidiana, &c. quibus tempus pomeridianum diebus Dominicis maxime in pagis, plerumque transigi soleret*; "That by their *Edicts* they would restrain all *servile workes*, the workes of ordinarie dayes; "and especially, *Games, Drinking-Matches*, and other "profanations of the *Sabbath*, wherewith the after-noon, "or *Sundayes*, chiefly in smaller Townes and Villages, "had before beene spent; that so the people might receive to the *Catechizing*. By which wee also may perceive, that there was no restraint, on *Sundayes* in the after-noon, from any kinde of *servile workes*, or *dayly labours*; but that men might and did apply themselves to their severall *businesses*, as on other dayes. As for the greater Townes, there is scarce any of them, wherein there are not *Faires* and *Markets*, *Kirk-Masses*, as they use to call them, upon the *Sunday*: and those as much frequented in the after-noon, as were the *Churches* in the fore-noon. A thing from which they could not hold, not in *Dort* it selfe; what time the Synod was assembled. Nor had it now beene called upon, as it is most likely, had not *Ame-sius*, and some others of our *English Malecontents*, scattered abroad *Bownds Principles* amongst the *Netherlands*, which they had sowne before in *England*. And certainly they had made as strong a *Faction* there, before this time; their *learned men* beginning to bandie one against the other, in the debates about the *Sabbath*; but that the livelyhood

liveliness of the *States*, consisting most on trade and traffick, cannot spare any day, *Sunday* no more than any other, from venting their commodities, and providing others. So that in generall, the *Lords day* is no otherwise observed with them (though somewhat better then it was twelve yeeres ago) then an halfe-holiday is with us: the morning though not all of that, unto the Church; the afternoon, to their employments. So for the *French* and *German* Churches, we may perceive by their Divines, *Calvin* and *Beza*, and *Martin Bucer*, who do so highly charge the *Romanist*, for the restraint of working on the *Lords day*; that they were well enough content to allow the same. And for the Churches of the *Switzers*, *Zuinglius* avoweth it to be lawfull, *Die Dominico peractis sacris laboribus incumbere*, On the *Lords day* after the end of Divine Service, for any man to follow and pursue his labours; as commonly wee doe, saith he, in the time of harvest. Indeed the *Polish Churches* formerly decreed in two severall Synods, the one at *Cracow* Ann. 1573. the other at *Petricow*, Ann. 1578. *Vt Domini in suis ditionibus prohibeant Dominicis diebus nundinas, annuas, & septimaniales*; That *Lords of Mannours* (as we call them) should not permit, on the *Lords day*, either *Faires* or *Markets*, in any of the *Townes* unto them belonging; *Neque iisdem diebus colonos suos ullos laboribus aut vecturis onerent*, nor on those dayes employ their Tenants in carriages, or such servile labours. But this was rather done to please the *Lutherans*, amongst whom, and those of the *Communion* of the Church of *Rome*, under whom they live: then out of any principle or example of those Churches, whom they chiefly followed. For recreations last of all, there is no question to be made, but that where working is permitted, and most kinde of businesse, a man may lawfully enjoy himselfe and his honest pleasures; and without danger of offence, pursue those pastimes, by which the mind may be refreshed, and the spirits quickened. Al-

Ref. ad Val.
Gentilem.

ready

ready have we told you what the custome is in the *Palatine Churches*. And for the *Belgicke*, besides it was before declared from the Synod of *Dort*, touching the usuall spending of that day in *Games* and *drinking matches*; their foure great Doctors, *Polyander*, *Ryver*, *Thysius*, and *Wala-* Synops. theol. Et disp. 21. n. 58.
laus make recreation to be part of the *Sabbaths rest*; *Et inter fines Sabbati esse*, and to be reckoned as a principall intent thereof. Even in *Geneva* it selfe, the mother Church unto the rest, as *Robert Johnson* tels us in his enlargement of *Boterus*. "All honest Exercises, shooting in Peeces, Long-bowes, Crosse-bowes, &c. are used on the Sabbath day, and that in the morning both before and after Sermon: neither doe the Ministers finde fault therewith, so they hinder not from hearing of the Word at the time appointed. Indeed there is no reason why they should finde fault; the practice so directly rising, upon their principles.

(10) Dancing indeed they doe not suffer, either in *Geneva*, or the *French Churches* (though not prohibited for ought I can learne, in either *Germany*, or any of the *Lutheran Kingdomes*;) but this not in relation to the day, but the sport it selfe, which absolutely they have forbidden on all dayes whatever. *Calvin* tooke great offence thereat (of so austere a life would hee have the people) and kept a great adoe about it, in *Geneva*, when hee lived amongst them: as hee doth thus relate the story to his Friend *Farelus*. *Corneus*, and *Perinus*, two of speciall power and qualitie in that Citie, together with one of the *Syndicks* (which is one of the foure chiefe Officers of the Common-wealth) one of the *Elders*, named *Hemrichus*, and some others of their Friends, being merry at an invitation, fell to dancing. Notice hereof being given to *Calvin*, by some false brother, they were all called into the *Consistory*, excepting *Corneus* and *Perinus*: and being interrogated thereupon, *Impudenter Deo & nobis mentiti sunt*, they lyed, saith he, most impudently

Epist. ad Farel.

O o

dearly unto God and us. (Most Apostolically said.) At that, saith hee, I grew offended, as the indignitie of the thing deserved: and they persisting in their contumacie, *Censui ut iure-jurando ad veri confessionem adigerentur.* I thought it fit to put them to their oaths about it. So said, so done; and they not onely did confesse their former dancing, but that that very day, they had beene dancing in the house of one *Balthasars* Widdow. On this confession he proceeded unto the censure, which certainly was sharpe enough for so small a fault, (for a fault it was, if he would have it :) the *Syndick* being displaced, the *Elder* turned out of his office, *Perryn* and his Wife both clapt in prison, and all the rest, *pudore confusi*, put to open shame. This was in *Anno 1546*. And afterwards, considering how much hee disliked it, their Ministers and Preachers cryed downe dancing, as a most sinfull and unchristian pastime, and published divers Tracts against it. At last in *Anno 1571*. it was concluded in a Synod held at *Rochel*, and made to be a part of their publike discipline; viz. That *All Congregations should be admonished by their Ministers, seriously to reprehend and suppress all Dances, Mummeries, and Enterludes: as also that all Dancing-Masters, or those who make any dancing meetings, after they have beene oft admonished to desist, ought to bee excommunicate for that their contumacie, and disobedience.* Which rigidnesse of theirs, as it is conceived, considering how the *French* doe delight in dancing, hath beene no small impediment unto the generall entertainment of the reformed Religion in that Kingdome. So great is there delight therein, and with such eagernes they pursue it, when they are at leisure from their businesse; that as it seemes, they doe neglect the Church on the holy dayes, that they may have the more time to attend their dancing. Upon which ground, it was, and not that dancing was conceived to be no lawfull sport for the *Lords day*, that in the Councel of *Sens*, *An. 1524*. in that of *Paris*, *Anno 1557*. in those of *Rhemes*, and *Tours*,
Anno

Dallington view
of Fr.

157. Boxbell.

Anno 1583. and finally in that of *Bourges*, *Anno 1584*. dancing on *Sundayer*, and the other holy dayes, hath been prohibited: prohibited indeed, but practiced by the people, notwithstanding all their *Canons*. But this concernes the *French*, and their Churches onely: our *Northerne Nations* not being so bent upon the sport, as to need restraint. Onely the *Polish Churches* did conclude in the Synod of *Petricow* before remembred, that *Taverne-meetings*, drinking-matches, Dice, Cards, and such like pastimes, as also Musicall Instruments, and dances, should on the *Lords day* be forbidden. But then it followeth with this clause, *Præsertim eo temporis momento quo concio & cultus divinus in templo peragitur*, " especially at that instant time, when
" men should be at Church to heare the Sermon, and at-
" tend Gods worship. Which cleerely shewes that they prohibited dancing, and the other pastimes then recited, no otherwise than as they were a meanes, to keepe men from Church. Probably also they might be induced unto it, by such *French Protestants*, as came into that Country with the Duke of *Anjou*, when he was chosen K. of *Poland*, *Anno 1574*. which was 4. yeeres before this Councell.

(11) As for the Churches of the *East*, being now heavily oppressed with *Turkish* bondage, we have not very much to say. Yet by that little which we find thereof, it seemes the *Lords day* keeps that honour which before it had; and that the *saturday* continues in the same regard, wherin once it was: both of them counted daies of *feasting* and both retained for the assemblies of the Church. First that they are both daies of *feasting*, or at the least exempted from their publike *Fasts*, appeares by that which is related by *Christopher Angelo*, a *Grecian*, whom I knew in *Oxford*, Τῇ δὲ De instit. Græc. ἡμέρᾳ τῆς Κεῖρας, καὶ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς ἡλίας ἡπὶ καλῶνται κυεῖν καὶ ἐσθίσιν ἐλαίῳ, c. 16. πρὸς δὲ οἶνον, " that on the *Saturday* and *Sunday*, which we
" call the *Lords day*, they do both eat Oyle and drink wine,
" even in *Lent* it self; whereas on other daies, they feed on
" pulse, and drink only water. Then that they both are still
O o 2 retained

id. c. 17.

retained for the assemblies of the Church, with other *Holy dayes*, he tells us in another place: where it is said, *Ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις, ἐν ἑκάστῃ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς Κυριακῆς, καὶ ἐν ταῖς λοιπαῖς ἡμέραις τῆς ἑβδομάδος ὅλας, καὶ ἐκαστὸν αἰῶνα ἡ ἐκκλησία ποιεῖ τὴν αὐτὴν ἐκκλησίαν, &c.* "That for the *Lords day*, and the *Saturday*, and the other *Festivals*, they use to goe unto the Church on the *Eve* before, and almost at midnight; where they continue till the breaking up of the Congregation. For the *Egyptian Christians*, or *Cophies*, as wee call them now, it is related by *G. Sandys*, that on the *Saturday* presently after midnight, they repaire unto their Churches, where they remaine well nigh untill *Sunday* at noone; during which time, they neither sit nor kneele, but support themselves on *Crutches*: and that they sing over the most part of *Dauids Psalmes* at every meeting, with divers parcels of the old and new Testament. Hee hath informed us also of the *Armenians*, another sort of *Easterne Christians*, that comming into the place of the Assembly on *Sunday* in the afternoon, hee found one sitting in the midst of the Congregation, in habit not differing from the rest, reading on a Bible in the *Chaldean* tongue: that anon after came the Bishop in an Hood or vest of blacke, with a staffe in his hand; that first he prayed, and then sung certaine *Psalmes* assisted by two or three; after, all of them singing joyntly, at *interims* praying to themselves; the Bishop all this while with his hands erected, and face towards the Altar: That *Service* being ended, they all kissed his hand, and bestowed their Almes, hee laying his other hand on their heads, and blessing them; finally that bidding the succeeding *Fasts*, and *Festivals*, hee dismissed the Assemblie. This the behaviour of these *Easterne Christians* in the publike places of assembly. As for the residue of the day, which is not destinate to religious meetings, they neither bar themselves thereon, either from necessary busines, or lawfull pleasures: but freely give them-

Travels l. 2.

themselves to dancing in the open streets, and other meetings of good Neighbourhood, in all things using it as a *festivall day*, not as a *Sabbath*. And this not onely in small Townes and pertie Villages, where their behaviour might be perhaps the more remisse; but in their very principall Cities, even in *Constantinople* it selfe, the supreme of all, under the eye and with the knowledge of their Superiours in the Lord: as I have credibly beene informed by a worthy Gentleman, who spent much time therein, and other places of those parts, in the publike service of this Kingdome. The *Muscovites*, being neere unto the *Greeks*, and once within the jurisdiction of the Patriarke of *Constantinople*, partake much also of their customes. They count it an unlawfull thing to fast the *Saturday*, which shewes that somewhat is remaining of that esteeme, in which once they had it: and for the *holy dayes*, *Sundayes* aswell as any other, they doe not hold themselves so strictly to them, but that the Citizens & Artificers, immediately after Divine service, betake themselves unto their labours, and domesticke businesses. And this, most probably, is the custome also of all the Churches of the *East*; as holding a Communion with the Church of *Greece*, though not subordinate thereunto: from the which Church of *Greece*, the faith was first derived unto these *Muscovites*, as before was said; and with the faith, the observation of this day, and all the other *holy dayes*, at that time in use. As for the Country people, as *Gaguinus* tells us, they seldome celebrate or observe any day at all, at least, not with that care and order, as they ought to doe; saying, That it belongs onely unto *Lords* and *Gentlemen*, to keep *holy dayes*. Last of all, for the *Habassines*, or *Ethiopian Christians*, though further off in situation; they come as neere unto the fashions of the ancient *Grecians*. Of them we are informed by *M. Brerewood*, *Enquiries* c. 23. out of *Damianis*, "that they reverence the *Sabbath*, keeping it solemne equally with the *Lords day*. *Scaliger* tells *Emend Temp.* us, that they call both of them by the name of *Sabbaths*; lib. 7.

Gaguinus de Moscovit.

the one the first, the other, the latter *Sabbath*: or in their owne language, the one *Sanbath Sabrisfos*, that is, *Christ's Sabbath*; the other, *Sanbath Judi*, or the *Jewes Sabbath*. *Bellarmino* thinks that they derived this observation of the *Saturday* or *Sabbath*, from the Constitutions ascribed to *Clemens*: which indeed frequently doe presse the observation of that day, with no lesse fervour than the *Sunday*. Of this wee have already spoken. And to this *Bellarmino* was induced the rather, because that in this Country they had found authoritie, and were esteemed as *Apostolicall*. *Audio Ethiope* his *Constitutionibus uti, ut vere Apostolicis, & ea ac causa in erroribus versari circa cultum Sabbati, & diei Dominica*. But if this be an errour in them, they have many partners; and those of ancient standing in the Church of God, as before was shewne. As for their service on the *Sunday*, they celebrate the Sacrament in the morning early, except it be in the time of *Lent*: when fasting all the day, they discharge that duty in the Evening, and then fall to meat; as the same *Scaliger* hath recorded. So having looked over all the residue of the *Christian World*; and found no *Sabbath* in the same, except onely nominall: it is now time, wee turned our course, and let sayle for *England*: where we shall find as little of it as in other places, untill that fortie yeeres agoe, no more, some men began to introduce a *Sabbath* thereunto, in hope thereby to countenance and advance their other projects.

De Script. Eccl.
in Clem.

CHAP.



CHAP. VII.

In what estate the *Lords day* stood in this Isle of *Brittan*, from the first planting of Religion, to the reformation.

(1) What doth occurre about the *Lords day*, and the other Festivals, amongst the Churches of the Brittans. (2) Of the estate of the *Lords day*, and the other holy dayes in the Saxon Heptarchie. (3) The honours done unto the *Sunday*, and the other holy dayes, by the Saxon Monarchs. (4) Of publike actions, Civill, Ecclesiasticall, mixt, and Military, done on the *Lords day*, under the first sixe Norman Kings. (5) New Sabbath doctrines broached in England in King Johns Reigne; and the miraculous originall of the same. (6) The prosecution of the former businesse; and ill successe therein, of the undertakers. (7) Restraint of worldly businesse on the *Lords day*, and the other holy dayes, admitted in those times, in Scotland. (8) Restraint of certaine servile workes, on Sundayes, holy dayes, and the wakes, concluded in the Councell of Oxon, under Henry 3. (9) Husbandrie and Legall processe, prohibited on the *Lords day* first, in the Reigne of Edward 3. (10) Selling of wools, on the *Lords day*, and the solemne Feasts, forbidden first by the said King Edward: as after, Faires and Markets generally, by King Henry 6. (11) The Cordwainers of London, restrained from selling their wares on the *Lords day*, and some other Festivals, by King Edward the fourth, and of the Recreations in those times permitted upon the

the same. (12) In what estate the Lords day stood, both for the doctrine, and the practice, in the beginning of the reigne of King Henry the 8. (13) The Doctrine of this Church, in the present businesse, towards the latter-end of the said Kings Reigne.

(1)



NOW now at last we are for *England*, that we may see what hath bin done amongst our selves, in this particular; and thereby bee the better lessoned, what we are to doe. For as before I noted, the *Canons* of particular Churches, and *Edicts* of Particular Princes, though they sufficiently declare, both what their practice and opinion was, in the present point; yet are no generall Rule, nor prescript to others, which lived not in the compasse of their *Authority*. Nor can they further bind us, as was then observed; then as they have beene since admitted into our Church, or State, either by adding them unto the body of our *Canons*, or imitating them in the composition of our *Acts* and *Statutes*. Onely the *Decretals* of the *Popes*, the body of their *Canon Law*, is to bee excepted: which being made for the direction and reiglement of the Church in generall, were by degrees admitted, and obeyed, in these parts of *Christendome*; and are, by *Act of Parliament*, so far still in force, as they oppose not the *Prerogative Royall*, or the *Municipall Lawes* and *Statutes*, of this Realme of *England*. Now that we may the better see, how it hath been adjudged of here, and what hath beene decreed or done, touching the *Lords day*, and the other *holy dayes*: we will ascend as high as possible we can, even to the Church and Empire of the *Brittans*. Of them indeed wee finde not much, and that delivered in as little; it being said of them by

by *Beda*, that in the time of *Constantine* they did *dies festos* *Hist. l. i. c. 8.* celebrate, observe those *holy dayes* which were then in use: which, as before we said, were *Easter*, *Whitsontide*, the feasts of *Christ Nativity*, and his *Incarnation*, every yeere; together with the *Lords day*, weekly. And yet it may be thought, that in those times the *Lords day* was not here of any great account; in that they kept the feast of *Easter*, after the fashion of the Churches, in the *Easterne* parts, *decima quarta luna*, on what day of the weeke soever: which certainly they had not done, had the *Lords day* obtained amongst them that esteeme, which generally it had found in the *western* Churches. And howsoever a late writer of *Ecclesiasticall history*, endeavour to acquit the *Brittans* of these first Ages, from the erroneous observation of that feast, and make them therein followers of the Church of *Rome*: yet I conceive not that his proofes come home, to make good his purpose. For where it is his purpose to prove, by computation, that that erroneous observation, came not in amongst the *Brittans*, till 30 yeeres before the entrance of *S. Austin*, and his associates into this Iland; and for that end hath brought a passage out of *Beda*, touching the continuance of that custome: its plaine that *Beda* speaks not of the *British*, but the *Scottish* Christians. *Permanet autem apud eos* [the *Scottish-Irish* Christians, as himselfe confesseth] *hujusmodi observantia Paschalis tempore non pauco, hoc est usque ad annum Domini 717. per annos 150*: which was; (as he computes it somewhat neere the point) but 30 yeeres before the entrance of that *Austin*. Now for the *Scots*; it is apparant that they received not the faith, till the yeere of *Christ* 430, (not to say any thing of the time wherein they first set footing in this Iland, which was not very long before:) and probably might about that time, of which *Beda* speakes, receive that custome of keeping *Easter* from the *Brittans*; who were next neighbours to them, and a long time lived mingled with them. But for the *Brittans* it is most certaine, that they

they had longer been accustomed to that observation: though for the time thereof, whether it came in with the first plantation of the Gospell here, we will not contend; as not pertaining to the business, which we have in hand. Suffice it, that the *Brittans* anciently were observant of those *publicke festivals*, which had beene generally entertained in the Church of God: though for the time of celebrating the feast of *Easter*, they might adhere more unto one Church, then unto another. As for the Canon of the Councell of *Nice*, which is there alledged; *Baronius* rightly hath observed out of *Athanasius*, that notwithstanding both that *Canon*, and the Emperours *Edicts* thereupon: *tamen etiam postea, Syros, Cilices, & Mesopotamios, in eodem errore permansisse*, the *Syrians, Cilicians, and Mesopotamians*, continued in their former error. And why not then the *Brittans*, which lay farther off; as well as those that dwell so neere the then *Regall City*?

(2) Proceed we next unto the *Saxons*, who as they first received the faith, from the Church of *Rome*; so did they therewithall, receive such institutions, as were at that time generally entertained in the *Roman Church*: the celebration of the *Lords day*, and the other *festivals*, which were allowed of and observed, when *Gregory the Great* attained the *Popedome*. And here to take things as they lie in order, we must begin with a *narration*, concerning *Westminster*, which for the prettinesse of the story I will here insert. *Sebert* the first *Christian King* of the *East Saxons*, having built that Church, unto the honour of God, and memory of Saint *Peter*, invited *Mellitus* Bishop of *London*, on a day appointed, unto the consecration of it. The night before *S. Peter* comming to the further side crosseth the ferrie, goes into the Church, and with a great deale of celestiaall musick, lights, and company, performes that office; for the dispatch of which *Mellitus* had beene invited. This done, and being waisted backe to the further side, he gives the *ferri-man* for his fare, a good draught of fishes: onely commanding him

Anno 198.

Aldredus de Godescalco.

him, to carry one of them, which was the best for price and beauty, for a present, from him, to *Mellitus*; in testimony that the worke was done, to his hand already: Then telling who hee was, hee addes, that hee and his posterity, the whole race of *fishermen*, should bee long after stored with that kinde of fish: *tantum ne ultra piscari audeatis in die Dominica*, provided alwayes, that they fished no more upon the *Sunday*. *Aldredus* so reports the story. And though it might be true, as unto the times wherein hee lived, (which was in the declining of the twelfth Century) that *fishing* on the *Lords day*, was restrained by law: yet sure hee placed this story ill, in giving this injunction from Saint *Peter*, in those early dayes, when such restraints were hardly settled; if in a Church new planted, they had yet beene spoke of. Leaving this therefore as a fable, let us next look on *Beda*, what he hath left us of this day, in reference to our Ancestors of the *Saxons*-race: and many things wee finde in him worth our observation. Before wee shewed you, how the *Sunday* was esteemed a *festivall*, that it was judged *hereticall* to hold *fists* thereon. This ordinance came in amongst us with the faith it selfe. *St. Chad*, having a place designed him by King *Oswald*, to erect a monastery; did presently retire unto it, in the time of *Lent*: In all which time, *Dominica* exceptis, the *Lords day* excepted; he fasted constantly till the evening, as the story tells us. The like is told of *Adamannus*, one of the monastery of *Coldingham*, now in *Scotland*, (but then accounted part of the Kingdome of *Northumberland*;) that he did live in such a strict and abstemious manner; *ut nil unquam cibi vel potus, excepta die Dominica, & quinta Sabbati perciperet*; that he did never eate nor drinke, but on the *Sunday*, and *Thursday* onely. This *Adamannus* lived in *Anno* 690. Before we shewed you, with what profit, *musicke* had beene brought into the Church of God: & hither it was brought, it seemes with the first preaching of the Gospell. *Beda* relates it of *Paulinus*, that when hee was made Bishop of *Reshester*.

Hist. l. 3. c. 23.

Hist. l. 4. c. 25.

Ecclesiast. Hist. l. 2. c. 20.

Rochester, which was in *An. 638*, he left behind him in the North, one *James* a Deacon, *cantandi in Ecclesia peritissimū*, a man exceeding perfect in *Church musick*: who taught them there, that forme of *singing* divine service, which he learnt in *Canterbury*. And after in the yeere 668, what time Archbishop *Theodorus* made his *Metropolitall visitation*, the Art of *singing* service, which was then onely used in *Kent* (for in the North it had not beene so settled, but that it was againe forgotten) was generally taken up over all the Kingdome. *Sonos cantandi in Ecclesia, quos eatenus in Cantia tantum noverant, ab hoc tempore per omnes Anglorum Ecclesias discere cœperunt*, as that Author hath it. Before we shewed, how Pope *Vitalianus*, anno, 653. added the *Organ* to that *vocall musick*, which was before in use in the Church of *Christ*. In lesse then 30 yeeres after, & namely in the yeere 679 were they introduced by Pope *Agatho*, into the Churches of the *English*: and have continued in the same well neere 1000 yeeres, without interruption. Before we shewed you, how some of the greater *festivals*, were in esteeme before the *Sunday*; and that it was so even in the *primitive times*. And so it also was in the *primitive times* of this Church of *England*: it being told us of *Queene Etheldreda*, that after she had put her selfe into a monastery, she never went unto the *Bathes*, *præter imminentibus solenniis majoribus*, but on the approach of the greater *festivals*, such as were *Easter*, *Pentecost*, and *Chrismas*, (for so I think he meanes thereby *Epiphanie*;) as also, that unles it were on the greater *festivals* she did not use to eat, above once, a day. This plainly shews, that *Sunday* was not reckoned for a greater *festivall*; that other daies were in opinion & esteeme above it; and makes it evident withall, that they conceived not that the keeping of the *Lords day*, was to be accounted as a part of the *Law of nature*; or introduced into the Church, by *divine authority*, but by the same *authority* that the others were. For Lawes in these times made, we meete with none but those

Lib. 4. c. 2.

Bhd, Eccl. hist.
l. 4. c. 19.Ap. Lambert.
Archaion.

of *Ina*, a *West-Saxon King*, who entred on his reigne *an. 712*: A Prince exceedingly devoted to the Church of *Rome*, and therefore apt enough to embrace anything, which was there concluded. By him it was enacted, in this forme that followeth. *Servus si quid operis patravit die Dominico, ex præcepto Domini sui, liber esto, &c.* If a servant worke on the *Lords day*, by the appointment of his master, he was to be set free, & his master was to forfeit 30 shillings: but if he worked without such order from his master, to be whipped, or mulcted. *Liber si hoc die operetur injustu Domini sui, &c.* So if a free-man worked that day, without direction from his master, he either was to be made a Bond-man, or pay 60 shillings. Now was the Church waiting to declare her pleasure, it being ordered in a Synod at *Clove-shooe*, called by *Cutbert* Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, Anno 747. *Vt dies Dominicus legitima veneratione a cunctis celebretur, &c.* That the *Lords day* be observed with all due solemnity, and that it be dedicated onely to the worship of God. Nor did they take this care of the *Lords day* onely. For then and there it was decreed, that not alone on that day, *eo die*, *Sed per alias festivitates majores*, but on the other greater festivals the people should assemble to heare Gods Word, &c. And in the *Canons* of *Egbert* Arch-bishop of *Yorke*, it was also ordered, *omnibus festis & diebus Dominicis*, that as well on all the holy dayes, as the *Lords day*, the Priests should Preach unto the people. As for the doctrine of these times, we may best judge of that by *Beda*. First for the *Sabbath*, that hee *In Luc. 29* tells us, *ad Mosis usque tempora ceterorum dierum similis erat*, was meere like the other dayes untill *Mos*'s time; no difference at all betweene them: therefore not instituted and observed in the beginning of the world, as some teach us now. Next for the *Lords day*, that he makes an *Apostolicall sanction* onely no *divine commandement*; as before we noted: and how farre *Apostolicall sanctions* bind, we may cleerely see, by that which they determined in the

Councell.

Councell of Hierusalem. Of these two specialties, we have spoke already.

Lambert Ar-
chaion.

(3) This is the most we finde in the *Saxon Heptatechi*; and little more then this wee finde in the *Saxon Monarchie*. In this wee meete with *Alured* first, the first that brought this Realme in order, who in his lawes *cap. de diebus festis & silemibus*, reckoneth up certaine dayes in which it was permitted unto free-men to enjoy their festivall liberty, as the phrase there is: *servis autem & iis qui sunt legitima officiorum servitute astricti, non item*; but not to slaves, and such as were in service unto other men, viz. the twelve dayes after Christs Nativity, *dies ille quo Christus subegit diabolum* the day wherein our Saviour overcame the devill; the festivall of Saint *Gregory*, seven dayes before *Easter*, and as many after; the festivall day of Saint *Peter* and *Paul*, the weeke before our *Lady* day in harvest, *All-Hallowtide*, and the foure wednesdays in the *Ember-weeke*. Where note how many other dayes, were priviledged in the selfe-same manner, as the *Lords day* was; in case that be the day then spoke of, wherein our Saviour overcame the Devill, as I thinke it is: as also that this privilege extended unto free-men onely, servants and bond-men being left in the same conditior as before they were, to spend all dayes alike, in their masters businesse. It also was by him enacted, *Neminem sceleris reum. (Si qua vitari possit) in festivitatie diei Solis morte afficiendum, &c.* That no malefactor should bee put to death upon the *Sunday*, but should bee kept in durance untill the festivall be over, and then executed: which Law was afterwards confirmed by King *Canutus*. This *Alured* began his raigne, anno 871. and after him succeeded *Edward*, surnamed the Elder in the yeere 900. who in a league between himselfe and *Guthbrun* K. of the *Danes* in *England*, did publickely, on both sides, prohibite, as well all markettings on the *Sunday*, as other kind of work whatsoever on the other holy dayes. *Dacui si die Dominico quicquam fuerit mercatum, re ipsa, & Ora pra-*
terea

terea 12. multator; Anglus 30 solidos numeratos, &c. "If a Dane bought any thing on the *Lords day*, he was to forfeit the thing bought, & to pay 12 *Oras*, (every *Ora* being the fiftieth part of a pound) an *Englishman* doing the like to pay 30 shillings. A freeman if he did any work, *die quocumq; festo*, on any of the holy dayes, was forthwith to be made a *Bondman*, or to redeeme himselfe with money; a bond-slave to be beaten for it, or redeem his beating with his purse. The master also whether that he were *Englishman* or *Dane*, if he compelled his servants to work on any of the holy daies, was to answer for it. *Athelstan* who succeeded *Edward*, an. 942, did decree the same, or confirme it rather. So when it had been generally received in other places, to begin the *Sunday-service* on the *Eve* before, it was enacted by King *Edgar*, surnamed the peaceable, who began his reigne, ann. 959, *diem Sabbati, ab ipsa die Saturni, hora pomeridiana tertia, usq; in lunaris diei ciliculum festum agitari*: that the *Sabbath* should begin on *Saturday*, at 3 of the clock in the afternoon, (& not as *Faxe* relates it in his *Ants* and *Monuments*, at nine in the morning) and so hold on till day breake, on *Monday*. Where, by the way, though it be *dies Sabbati* in the *Latine*, yet in the *Saxon* copy, it is only *Healde*, the holy day. After this *Edgars* death, the *Danes* so plagued this realme, that there was nothing settled in it, either in Church or state, till finally they had won the Garland, and obtained the Kingdome. The first of these *Canutus*, an heroick Prince; of whom it is affirmed by *Malmesbury*, *omnes leges ab antiquis regibus, & maxime sub Etheldredo latas*, that hee commanded all those lawes to be observed which had beene made by any of the former Kings, (and those before remembered amongst the rest, of which see the 42 of his *Constitutions*) especially by *Etheldred* his predecesour: and that upon a grievous mulct, to be layed on such, who should disobey them. These are the laws which afterwards were called King *Edwards*, *no: quod ille statuerit, sed quod observavit*, not because he enacted them.

Leg. 4. 15.

Lib. 3. c. 19.

Rog. de Hoveden. in Henrico secundo.

them, but that he caused them to be kept. Of these more anon. Besides which Lawes so brought together, there were some others made at *Winchester* by this King *Canutus*; and amongst others, this, that on the *Lords day* there should be no marketting, no Courts, or publicke meetings of the people for Civill businesses: as also that all men abstaine from hunting, and from all kind of earthly worke. Yet was there an exception too, *nisi flagitante necessitate*, in cases of necessity, wherein it was permitted both to buy and sell, and for the people to meete together in their Courts. For so it passeth in the Law. *Die Dominico mercata concelebrari, populiue conuentus agi, nisi flagitante necessitate, plurissime vetamus; ipso praterca die sacrosancto à uenatione, & opere terreato prorsus omni, quisque abstinet.* Not that it is to be supposed, as some would have it, that he intended *Sunday* for a *Sabbath day*. For entering on the Crowne *ann. 1017*, he did no more then what had formerly beene enacted by *Charles the Great*, and severall Councils after him; none of which dreamed of any *Sabbath*. Besides it is affirmed of this *Canutus* by *Otho Frisingensis*, that in the yeere 1027, he did accompany the Emperour *Conrade*, at his coronation, on an *Easter day*; which questionlesse he would not have done, knowing those kind of pomps to be meere civill, and to have in them much of ostentation; had hee intended any *Sabbath*, when hee restrained some works on *Sunday*. But to make sure worke of it, without more adoe, the Lawes by him collected, which we call *St. Edwards*, make the matter plaine: where *Sunday* hath no other priviledge then the others feasts; and which is more, is ranked below them. The Law is thus entituled, *De temporibus & diebus pacis Domini Regis*: the text as followeth. *Ab adventu Domini usque ad octavam Epiphaniae, pax Dei & Ecclesie, per omne regnum, &c.* From Advent to the *Octaves of Epiphanie*, let no mans person be molested, nor no suite pursued: the like from *Septuagesima*, to *Low-Sunday*; and so from *holy Thursday* to the next

“ next *Sunday* after *Whitsontide*. *Item omnibus Sabbatis ab hora nova usq; ad diem Luna, &c.* the like on *Saturdayes* from three in the afternoone untill *Monday morning*; as also on the *Eves of the Virgin Mary, S. Michael, S. Iohn the Baptist*, all the *holy Apostles*; of such particular *Saints* whose festivals are published in the Church on the *Sunday mornings*; the *Eve of All Saints* in *November*, from 3. of the clocke, till the solemnitie be ended. As also that no Christian be molested, going to Church for his devotions, or returning thence: or travelling to the dedication of any new erected Church, or to the *Synods*, or any publicke chapter meeting. Thus was it with the *Lords day*, as with many others in *S. Edwards Lawes*; which after were confirmed and ratified by *King Henry the second*, after they had long been neglected.

(4) Now goe we forwards to the *Normans*, and let us see what care they took about the sanctifying of the *Lords day*; whether they either tooke or meant it for a *Sabbath*. And first beginning with the reigne of the first sixe Kings, wee finde them times of action, and full of troubles, as it doth use to bee in unsetled states: no Law recorded to be made touching the keeping of this day; but many actions of great note to bee done upon it. These wee will ranke for orders sake, under these 5. heads: 1. *Coronations*, 2. *Synods Ecclesiasticall*, 3. *Councils of Estate*, 4. *Civill business*, and 5. *Battels* and assaults; which we shall summe up briefly, in their place and time. And first for *Coronations*, which as before I said, are mixt kind of actions, compound of sacred and of civill; *William* surnamed *Rufus*, was crowned at *Canterbury* by Archbishop *Lanfranke*, the 25. of *Septem.* being *Sunday*, *An. 1087*. So was *King Steven*, the 21. of *December*, being *Sunday* too, *An. 1135*. On *Sunday* before *Christmasse* day was *Henry the second* crowned at *London*, by Archbishop *Theobald*, *Anno 1155*. and on the *Sunday* before *Septuagesima*, his daughter *Ioane*, was at *Palermo*, crowned *Queene of Sicile*. Of *Richard the first*

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it is recorded, that hoysing sayle from *Barbestet* in *Normandie*, he arrived safely here upon the *Sunday*, before our *Lady day* in Harveſt: whence ſetting towards *London*, there met him his Arch-biſhops, Biſhops, Earles, and Barons, *Cum copioſa militum multitudine*, with a great multitude of Knightly ranke; by whoſe advice and counſell he was crowned on a *Sunday*, in September following, *Anno* 1189. and after crowned a ſecond time, on his returne from *thraldome* and the holy Land, *Anno* 1194. on a *Sunday* too. The royall and magnificent ſorine of his firſt Coronation, they who liſt to ſee, may find it moſt exactly repreſented in *Reg. de Hoveden*. And laſt of all King *John*, was firſt inaugurated Duke of *Normandy*, by *Walter* Archbiſhop of *Roane*, the *Sunday* after *Eaſter day*, *An* 1200. and on a *Sunday* after crowned K. of *England*, together with *Iſabel* his Queene, by *Hubert*, at that time Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. For Synods next, *Anno* 1070. a Councell was aſſembled at *Wincheſter*, by the appointment of K. *William* the firſt, and the conſent of *Alexander* then Pope of *Rome*, for the degrading of *Stigand* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*: and this upon the *Sunday* next after *Eaſter*. And we finde mention of a Synod called by *Richard* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. *Anno* 1175. the *Sunday* before holy *thurſday*: *Ad quod concilium venerunt fere omnes Episcopi & Abbates Cantuariensis dioceseos*; where were aſſembled almoſt all the Biſhops and Abbats of the whole Province. For Councels of *Eſtate*, there was a ſolemn-meeting called on *Trinity Sunday*, *An* 1142. in which aſſembled *Maud* the Empreſſe, and all the Lords which held her partie; where the Ambaſſadours from *Anjou* gave up their account: and thereupon it was concluded, that the Earle of *Glouceſter* ſhould be ſent thither to negotiate his ſifters buſineſſe. So in the yeere 1185. when ſome Embaſſadors from the Eaſt, had offered to King *Henry* the ſecond, the Kingdome of *Hieruſalem*; the King deſigned the firſt *Sunday* in *Lent* for his day of answer. Upon which day there met at *London*, the King, the Patriarke of *Hieru-*

Hieruſalem, the Biſhops, Abbots, Earles, and Barons of the Realme of *England*; as alſo *William* King of *Scotland*, and his brother *David*, with the Earles and Barons of that countrie: *Et habito inde cum deliberatione concilio, &c.* and then and there upon mature deliberation, it was concluded, that though the King accepted not the title, yet he would give his people leave, to put themſelves into the action, and take up the *Croſſe*. For civill buſineſſe of another nature, we find it on record that on the fourth *Sunday* in *Lent*, next following, the ſame King *Henry* Knighted his Sonne *John*, and ſent him forthwith into *Ireland*: Knighthood at thoſe times being farre more full of ceremonie, than now it is. Which being but a preparation to Warre and Militarie matters, leades us unto ſuch battailes, as in theſe times were fought on *Sunday*. Of which wee finde it in our Annalls, that in the yeere 1142. upon a *Sunday* being *Candlemaſſe day*, King *Stephen* was taken priſoner at the Battell of *Lincolne*: as alſo that on *Holy-Croſſe day* next after, being *Sunday* too, *Robert* Earle of *Glouceſter*, Commander of the adverſe forces, was taken priſoner at the Battell of *Wincheſter*. So read we that on *Sunday* the 25. of *Auguſt*, *Anno* 1173. the King of *France* beſieged and forced the Caſtle of *Dole* in *Brittaine*, belonging to the King of *England*: as alſo that on *Sunday* the 26. of *September*, *Anno* 1198. King *Richard* tooke the Caſtle of *Curceles*, from the King of *France*. More of this kinde might bee remembred, were not theſe ſufficient, to ſhew how anciently it hath bin the uſe of the Kings of *England*, to create Knights, and hold their Councels of *Eſtate*, on the *Lords day*, as now they doe. Were not the others here remembred, ſufficient to let us know, that our progenitours did not thinke ſo ſuperſtitiously of this day, as not to come upon the ſame unto the crowing of their Kings, or the publicke Synods of the Church; or if neede were, and their occaſions ſo required it, to fight as well on the *Lords day*, as on any other. Therefore no *Lords day Sabbath* hitherto, in the Realme of *England*.

(5) Not hitherto indeed. But in the Age that followed next, there were some overtures thereof, some strange preparatives to begin one. For in the very entrance of the
 113. Age, *Fulco*, a French Priest, and a notable hypocrite, as our King *Richard* counted him, and the story proves, lighted upon a new *Sabbatarian* fancie; which one of his associates, *Eustatius* Abbat of *Flay*, in *Normandie*, was sent to scatter here in *England*: but finding opposition to his doctrine, he went backe againe. The next yeere after, being 1202. hee comes better fortified, preaching from Towne to Towne, and from place to place, *Ne quis forum rerum venalium diebus Dominicis exerceat*, that no man should presume to Market on the *Lords day*. Where by-the-way we may observe, that notwithstanding all the Canons and Edicts before remembred, in the fifth Chapter of this Book; and the third Section of this Chapter; the *English* kept their Markets on the *Lords day*, as they had done formerly: as neither being bound to those, which had beene made by foraine States; or such as being made at home, had long before been cut in-pieces by the Sword of the *Norman* Conqueror. Now for the easier bringing of the people to obey their dictates they had to shew, a warrant sent from God himselfe, as they gave it out. The title this, *Mandatum sanctum Dominice diei quod de caelo venit Hierusalem, &c.* "An holy Mandat touching the *Lords day*, which came downe from Heaven, unto *Hierusalem*, found on *S. Simons* Altar in *Golgotha*, where Christ was crucified for the sins of all the world: which lying there three dayes and as many nights, stricke with such terrour all which saw it, that falling on the ground, they besought Gods mercy. At last, the Patriarch, and *Akarius* the Archbishop (of I know not whence) ventured to take into their hands that dreadfull Letter, which was written thus. Now wipe your eyes, and looke a while on the Contents; which I shall render with as much brevitic, as the thing requires. *Ego Dominus qui praecepi vobis ut observaretis diem sanctum Domini.*

Dominicum, & non custodistis eum, &c. "I am the Lord which hath commanded to keepe holy the *Lords day*; and you have not kept it; neither repented of your sinnes, &c. I caused repentance to bee preached unto you, and you beleevied not. Then sent I *Papans* amongst you, &c. and because you did not keepe the *Lords day* holy, I punished you a while with famine, &c. Therefore I charge you all, that from the ninth houre on the *Saturday*, untill Sun-rising on the *Monday*, no man presume to doe any worke, but what is good; or if he doe, that he repent him of the same. Verily I say and sweare unto you by my Seate and Throne, and by the *Cherubins* that keepe my Seate, that if you doe not hearken to this my Mandat, I will no more send to you any other Epistle; but I will open the Heavens, and raine upon you stones, and wood, and scalding water, &c. This I avow; that you shall dye the death, for the *Lords day* and other festivals of my Saints, which you have not kept: and I will send amongst you beasts with the heads of Lyons, and the haire of women, and the tayles of Camels; and they shall eate you and devoure you. There is a great deale more of this wretched stuffe: but I am weary of abusing both my paines and patience. Onely I cannot chuse but wish, that those who have enlarged their *Lords day Sabbath* to the same extent, would either shew us some such Letter, or bring us any of the miracles which hereafter follow: or otherwise be pleased, to lengthen out the festivals of the Saints in the selfe-same manner, as by this goodly Script they are willed to doe.

(6) But to proceed, the said *Eustatius* thus furnished, and having found but ill successe, the former yeere, in the Southerne parts; where he did *Anglia Prelatos predicatione sua molestare*, disturbe the Prelates by his preachings; as my Author hath it; he went up to *Torke*. There did he preach his doctrines, and absolve such as had offended: conditioned, that hereafter they did shew more reverence

unto the *Lords day*, and the other *holy dayes*, doing no servile works upon them; *Nec in diebus Dominicis exercerent forum rerum venalium*, particularly, that on the *Lords day* they should hold no Markets. The people hereunto assented, and promised they would neither buy nor sell on the *Lords day*, *Nisi forte cibum & potum praeferentibus*, excepting meat and drinke to passengers. Whereby it seemes, that notwithstanding all this terrour, men were permitted yet to travell on the *Lords day*, as they had occasion. This coming to the notice of the King, and Councell, my men were all fetched up; such specially *qui in diebus Dominicis forum rerum venalium dejecerant*, which had disturbed the Markets, and overthrowne the Booths and Merchandice on the *Lords day*: and made to fine unto the King, for their misdemeanour. Then were they faine to have recourse to pretended miracles. A Carpenter making a wooden pinne, and a woman making up her webbe, both after three on *Saturday*, in the afternoone; are suddenly smitten with the Palsey. A certaine man of *Nafferton*, baking a Cake on *Saturday* night, and keeping part untill the morrow, no sooner brake it for his breakfast, but it gushed out blood. A Miller of *Wakefield*, grinding Corne on *Saturday* after three of the clocke, instead of Meale, found his binne full of blood: his Mill-wheele standing still of its owne accord. One or two more there are of the same edition. And so, I thinke is that related in the *Acts and Monuments*, out of an old Booke, intituled, *De Regibus Anglia*; which, now I am fallen upon these Fables, shall bee joyned with them. “ King Henry the 2. saith the Story, “ being at *Cardiffe* in *Wales*, and being to take horse, there “ stood a certaine man by him having on him a white coat, “ and being bare-foot, who looked upon the King, and “ spake in this wise; Good old King, *Iohn Baptist* and “ *Peter* straightly charge you, that on the *Sundays* through “ out all your Dominions, there be no buying or selling “ nor any other servile businesse, (those onely except “ which

“ which appertaine to the preparation of meate and drinke; “ which thing if thou shalt observe, whatsoever thing thou “ takest in hand, thou shalt happily finish. Adding withall, “ that unlesse he did these things, and amend his life, hee “ should heare such newes within the twelve-moneth, as “ would make him mourne till his dying day. But to conclude, what was the issue of all this, this terrible Letter, and forged miracles? That the Historian tels us with no small regret, informing us that notwithstanding all these miracles, wherby God did invite the people to observe this day: *Populus plus timens regiam potestatem, quam divinam*, the people fearing more the Kings power, than Gods, returned unto their Marketting, as before they did.

(7.) I say that the Historian tells it with no small regret; for in that passionate discontent he had said before, that *inimicus humani generis*, the Devill envying the proceedings of this holy man, so farre so possessed the King and the Princes of darkenesse, (so he calls the Councell) that they forthwith proceeded against them who had obeyed him. Which makes me thinke, that this *Eustachius* was a familiar of the Popes, sent hither for the introducing of those restraints, which had beene formerly imposed on most parts of *Christendome*; though here they found no entertainment. The Popes had found full wel, how ill their justlings had succeeded hitherto, with the Kings of *England*, of the *Norman* race: and therefore had recourse to their wonted arts, by prodigies and miracles to insnare the people, and bring them so unto their bent. And this I doe the rather thinke, because that in the following yeere, *Anno* 1203. there was a Legate sent from *Rome*, to *William* King of *Scots*, with severall presents, and many indulgences.

Quae quoniam grato accepit animo, eodem concilio approbante *Hell. Boet. lib. decretum est, &c.* “ Which he accepting very kindly, it 13.

“ pleased him with the approbation of his Parliament at “ that time assembled, to passe a Law, that *Saturday* from “ twelve at noone should bee counted holy; and that no

"man should deale in such worldly businesses, as on the Feast-dayes were forbidden. As also that at the sounding of the Bell, the people should bee busied only about holy actions, going to sermons, hearing the *Vespers* or the *Evensong*: *id est, usque in diem luna facerent*, and that they should continue thus untill monday morning; a penaltie being laid, on those who should doe the contrary. So passed it then, and in the yeere 1214, some eleven yeeres after it was enacted in a Parliament at *Scone*, under *Alexander* the third, King of the *Scots*, that none should fish in any waters, *A die Sabbati post vespuras usque ad diem lune post ortum solis*, from Saturday after Evening Prayer, untill Sunne-rising on the Monday. This after was confirmed in the first Parliament of King *James* the first; and is to this day called the *Saturdayes Slop*. So easily did the Popes prevaile with our now friends of *Scotland*; that neither miracle, nor any speciall packet from the Court of Heaven, was accounted necessary.

Lex aquarum
c. 16. §. 2.

Sp. Lindwood.

(8) But here with us in *England* it was not so, though now the Popes had got the better of King *John*, that unhappy Prince; and had in *Canterbury* an Archbishop of their owne appointment, even that *Stephen Langton*, about whom so much strife was raised. Which notwithstanding, and that the King was then a *Minor*, yet they proceeded here with great care and caution; and brought the holy dayes into order, not by command or any *Decretall* from *Rome*, but by a Councell held at *Oxford*, Anno 1222. where amongst other Ordinances, tending unto the government of the Church, the holy dayes were divided into three rankes. In the first ranke were those, *qua omni veneratione servanda erant*, which were to be observed with all reverence and solemnitie: of which sort were *omnes dies Dominici &c.* all *Sundayes* in the yeere, the Feast of *Christs* Nativitie, together with all others now observed in the Church of *England*; as also all the Festivals of the *Virgin Mary*, excepting that of her *Conception*, which was left at large;

large; with diverse which have since beene abrogated. And for conclusion, *festum dedicationis cujuslibet Ecclesie in sua parochia*, the *Wakes*, or *feasts* of dedication of particular Churches, in their proper *Parishes*, are there determined to be kept with the same reverence and solemnitie, as the *Sundayes* were. Nor was this of the *Wakes*, or *feasts* of dedication, any new device; but such, as could plead a faire originall from the Councell held in *Mentz*, Anno 813. if it went no higher. For, in a Catalogue there made of such principall *feasts*, as annually were to be observed; they reckon *dedicationem Templi*, the *Consecration Feast*, or *Wake*, as wee use to call it; and place it in no lower ranke, in reference to the solemnitie of the same, than *Easter*, *Whitsontide*, and the rest of the greater festivals. Now, in those times, the *Wakes*, or *feasts* of dedication, were either held upon the very day on which, or the *Saints day* to which, they had first beene consecrated. But after, finding that so many holy dayes brought no small detriment to the Common-wealth; it came to passe, that generally these *Wakes*, or *feasts* of dedication, were respited untill the *Sunday* following, as wee now observe them. Of the next ranke of *Feasts* in this Councell mentioned, were those, which were by Priest and Curate to be celebrated most devoutly, with all due performances; *minoribus operibus servilibus, secundum consuetudinem loci, illis diebus interdictis*; all servile workes, of an inferiour and lesse important nature, according to the custome of the place, being layd aside. Such were *Saint Fabian*, and *S. Sebastian*, and some twentie more, which are therein specified, but now out of use: and amongst them, the festival of *Saint George* was one; which after, in the yeere 1414, was made by *Chicheley*, then Archbishop, a *Majus duplex*, and no lesse solemnely to be observed than the Feast of *Christmas*. Of the last ranke of *Feasts*, were those *in quibus post Missam, opera rusticana concedebantur, sed antequam non*; wherein it was permitted, that men might after Masse, pursue their
Coun-

Countrie busineses, though not before: and these were onely the *Octaves* of *Epiphany*, and of *Iohn the Baptist*, and of *Saint Peter*, together with the translations of *Saint Bened.* and *Saint Martin*. But yet it seemes, that, on the greater Festivals, those of the first ranke, there was no restraint of *Tillage*, and of *Shipping*, if occasion were; and that necessitie did require: though on those dayes, *Sundays*, and all before remembred, there was a generall restraint of all other workes. For so it standeth in the Title, prefixt before those Festivals: *Hac sunt festa, in quibus, prohibitis aliis operibus, conceduntur opera Agriculture, & Carrucarum*. Where, by the way, I have translated *Carrucarum*, Shipping: the word not being put for Plough or Cart, which may make it all one with the word fore-going; but for Shippes and sayling. *Carruca*, signifieth a Shippe of the greater burthen, such as to this day we call *Carrecks*; which first came from hence. And in this sense, the word is to be found in an Epistle writ by *Gildas*: *Illis ad sua remeantibus emergunt certatim de Carruchis, quibus sunt trans Scyticam vallem aucti*. So then, as yet, *Tillage* and *Sayling* were allowed of on the *Sunday*; if, as before I said, occasion were, and that necessitie so required. Of other passages considerable in the Reigne of King *Henry* the third, the principall to this point and purpose, are his owne Coronation, on *Whitsunday*, anno 1220. two yeeres before this Councell; which was performed with great solemnitie and concourse of people. Next, his bestowing the Order of Knighthood on *Richard de Clare*, Earle of *Gloucester*, accompanied with fortie other Gallants, of great hopes and spirit, on *Whitsunday* too, Anno 1245. And last of all, a *Parliament* assembled on *Mid-Lent Sunday*, *Parliamentum generalissimum*, the Historian calls it, the next yeere after.

(9) This was a faire beginning; but they stayed not here. For after, in a Synod of Archbishop *Islip*, (he was advanced unto that See, Anno 1349.) it was decreed,

Math. Westmo-
naster.

de fratribus nostrorum consilio, "with the assent and coun-
saile of all the Prelates then assembled, That on the
"principall Feasts hereafter named, there should be ge-
"nerally a restraint through all the Province, *ab universis*
"servilibus operibus etiam Reipubl. utilibus, even from all
"manner of servile workes, though otherwise necessarie to
"the Common-wealth. This generall restraint, in refe-
rence to the *Sunday*, was to begin on *Saturday* night, *ab*
hora diei Sabbati Vespertina, as the Canon goes, not a mi-
nute sooner: and that upon good reason too, *ne Iudaica*
superstitionis participes videamur, lest if they did begin it
sooner, (as some now would have us) they might be guiltie
of a *Iewish* superstition. The same to be observed in such
other Feasts, *que suas habent Vigilias*, whose *Eves* had for-
merly beene kept. As also that the like restraint should
be observed, upon the Feast of *Christmas*, *Saint Stephen*,
Saint Iohn, &c. and finally, on the *Wakes*, or *Dedication*
Feasts, which before we spake of. Now, for the workes be-
fore prohibited, though necessarie to the Common-wealth;
as we may reckon *Husbandrie*, and all things appertaining
thereunto; so probably wee may reckon *Law-dayes*, and
all publicke Sessions in Courts of Justice; in case they had
not beene left off in former times; when as the Judges ge-
nerall being of the Clergy, might in obedience to the Canon
Law, forbear their Sessions on those dayes, the Lords day
especiallly. For, as our Sages in the Law have resolved it
generally, that day is to be exempt from such businesse,
even by the Common Law, for the solemnitie thereof, to the
intent that people may apply themselves to prayer, and Gods
publicke service. Particularly, *Fitz-Herbert* tells us, That
no Plea shall be holden *Quindena Pascha*, because it is al-
wayes on the *Sunday*, but it shall be holden *Craftino* *Quin-*
dena Pascha, on the morrow after. So *Iustice Dyer* hath
resolved; That if a Writ of *Scire Facias*, out of the Common
Plea, beare Teste on a *Sunday*, it is an error, because that day
is not dies iudicis in Banco. And so it is agreed amongst
them,

Lindw 1.2. tit.
de Feriis.

Finch of the
Law, 1.1. c. 3.

Nat. Brevium,
fol. 17.

Eliz. p. 168.

them, That on a *Fine* levied with *Proclamations*, according to the *Statute* of King *Henry* the seventh, if any of the *Proclamations* be made on the *Lords day*, all of them are to be accounted *erroneous Acts*. But to returne unto the *Canon*, where before wee left: how-ever that Archbishop *Langton* formerly, and *Isip* at the present time, had made these severall restraints from all *servile labours*; yet they were farre enough from entertaining any *Iewish* fancie. The *Canon* last remembred, that of *Simon Isips* doth expresse as much. But more particularly and particularly wee may finde what was the judgement of these times, in a full declaration of the same, in a Synod at *Lambeth*, what time *John Peckham* was Archbishop, which was in *Anno* 1280.

Indiv. l. i. tit. de Offic. Archiep. preb.

It was thus determined. *Sciendum est quod obligatio ad feriandum in Sabbato Legali expiravit omnino, &c.* " It is " to be understood, that all manner of obligation of resting on the *Legall Sabbath*, as was required in the Old Testament, is utterly expired, with the other Ceremonies. And it is now sufficient in the New Testament, to attend Gods service upon the *Lords dayes*, and the other *holy dayes*, *ad hoc Ecclesiastica auctoritate deputatis*, appointed by the Church to that end and purpose. The manner of sanctifying all which dayes, *non est sumendus a superstitione Iudaica, sed a Canonicis institutis*, is not to be derived from any *Iewish* superstition, but from the *Canons* of the Church. This was exact, and plaine enough; and this was constantly the Doctrine of the Church of England. *Iohannes de Burgo*, who lived about the end of King *Henry* the sixth, doth almost word for word resolve it so, in his *Pupilla oculi*, part. 10. c. 11. D. For publike actions in these times, the greatest and most notable, were the Coronation of King *Edward* the first, upon the Sunday after the *Assumption* of the Virgin *Mary*, together with *Eleanor* his Queene, *Anno* 1275. the Knighting of King *Edward* the third, *cum multis aliis juvenibus generosis*, with many other young Noblemen, by the

the Earle of *Lancaster*; and afterwards, his Coronation on the same day too, being Sunday, and then *Candlemas Eve*, *Anno* 1327.

(10) Yet finde wee not in these restraints, that *Marketing* had beene forbidden, either on the *Lords day*, or the other *holy dayes*; and, indeed, it was not: That came in afterwards, by degrees; partly, by *Statutes* of the Realme; partly, by *Canons* of the Church; not till all Nations else had long layd them downe. For, in the 28. of King *Edward* the third, cap. 14. it was accorded and established, That *shewing of Wools* shall be made at the Staple every day of the *Week*, except the Sunday and the solemn Feasts in the yeere. This was the first restraint in this kind, with us here, in England; and this gives no more priviledge to the *Lords day*, than the *solemn Festivals*. Nor was there more done in it, for almost an hundred yeeres; not, till the time of *Henry* the sixth, *Anno* 1444. *Antiq. Brit. in* what time, Archbishop *Stafford* decreed throughout his Province, *ut Nundina & Emporia in Ecclesiis, aut Coemeteriis, diebusque Dominicis atque Festis, praterquam tempore messis, non tentantur*, " That *Faires* and *Markers* should no more be kept in Churches, and Church yards, or on the *Lords dayes*, or the other *holy dayes*, except in time of *Harvest* onely. If in that time they might be suffered, then certainly in themselves they were not unlawfull on any other; further, then as prohibited by the higher Powers. Now, that which the Archbishop had decreed throughout his Province, *Carworth*, Lord Major of London, attempted to exceed within that Citie. For, in *Fabians Chronicle* this yeere, saith *Fabian*, (*Anno* 1444) an Act was made by the authoritie of the Common Councell of London; That upon the Sunday should no manner of thing within the Franchise of the Citie be bought or sold, neither *Viſtually*, nor other thing: nor none Artificer should bring his Ware unto any man to be worne, or occupied, that day; as *Taylors* Garments, and *Cordwayners* Shooes; and so likewise all other Occupations.

28. H. 6. c. 16.

Occupations. But then it followeth in the *Storie*, *The which Ordinance held but a while*: enough to shew, by the successe, how ill it doth agree with a *Lord Major*, to deale in things about the *Sabbath*. Afterwards, in the yeere 1451. which was the 28. of this *Hermes Reigne*, it pleased the King in Parliament, to ratifie what before was ordered by the Archbishop, in this forme that followeth. **Considering the abominable iniuries and offences done to Almighty God, and to his Saints, alwayes apders and singular assistants in our necessities, by the occasion of Faires and Markets upon their high and principall Feasts; as, in the Feast of the Ascension of our Lord, in the day of Corpus Christi, in the day of Whitsunday, Trinitie Sunday, and other Sundayes; as also in the high Feast of the Assumption of our Blessed Lady, the day of All Saints, and on Good Friday, accustomedly and miserably holden and used in the Realme of England, &c. our Sovereigne Lord the King, &c. hath ordained, That all manner of Faires and Markets on the said principall Feasts, and Sundayes, and Good Friday, shall clearely cease, from all the toying of any Goods and Merchandises, necessarie Victuall onely except,** (which yet was more than was allowed in the *Citie-Act*) **upon paine of forfeiture of all the Goods aforesaid to the Lord of the Franchise or Libertie, where such Goods be or shall be shewed, contrarie to this Ordinance; the foure Sundayes in Harvest except.** Which Clause or reservation sheweth plainely, that the things before prohibited, were not esteemed unlawfull in themselves: as also, that this *Law* was made, in confirmation of the former *Order* of the Arch-Bishop, as before was said. Now, on this *Law*, I finde two *Resolutions* made, by my Lords the Judges. First, Justice *Brian*, in the 12. of King *Edward* the fourth; declared, That no sale made upon a *Sunday*, though in a *Faire* or *Market overt*. (for *Markets*, as it seemeth, were not then quite layed downe, though by *Law* prohibited) shall be a good sale, to alter the proprietie of the goods.

And

And *Ploydon*, in the time of Queene *Elizabeth*, was of opinion, *That the Lord of any Faire or Market kept upon Daltons lustice, the Sunday, contrarie to the Statute, may therefore be endited* cap. 27. *for the King or Queene, either at the Assises, or generall Gaole-deliverie, or Quarter Sessions, within that Countie.* If so, in case such Lord may be endited for any *Faire* or *Market* kept upon the *Sunday*, as being contrarie to the *Statute*: then, by the same reason, may he be endited, for any *Faire* or *Market* kept on any of the other *holy dayes*, in that *Statute* mentioned.

(11) Nor stayed it here. For in the yeere 1465. which was the fourth yeere of King *Edward* the fourth, it pleased the King in Parliament to enact as followeth. **Our Sovereigne Lord the King, &c. hath ordained and established, That no Cordwainer or Cöbler, within the Citie of London, or within three miles of any part of the said Citie, &c. doe upon any Sunday in the yeere, or on the Feasts of the Ascension, or Nativitie of our Lord, or on the Feast of Corpus Christi, sell or command to be sold any Shooes, Huseans, (i. e. Bootes) or Galoches; or upon the Sunday, or any other of the said Feasts, shall set or put upon the feet or legges of any person, any Shooes, Huseans, or Galoches; upon paine of forfeiture and losse of twentie shillings, as often as any person shall doe contrarie to this Ordinance.** Where note, that this restraint was onely for the *Citie of London*, and the parts about it: which shewes, that it was counted lawfull in all places else. And therefore there must be some particular motive, why this restraint was layd on those of *London* onely; either their insolencies, or some notorious neglect of Gods publike service: the *Gentle Craft* had otherwise beene ungently handled, that they, of all the *Trades-men* in that populous *Citie*, should be so restrained. Note also, that in this very *Act*, there is a reservation or indulgence for the inhabitants of *S. Martins le Grand*, to doe as formerly they were accustomed, the

14. & 15. of
H.8. cap. 9.

said Act of Statute notwithstanding. Which very Clause did after move King Henry the eight to repeale this Statute, that so all others of that Trade might be free, as they: or, as the very words of the Statute are, *That to the honour of Almighty God, all the things subjects might be hereafter at their libertie, as well as the inhabitants of Saint Martins le Grand.* Yet here it is to be observed, that howsoever men were thus restrained from following certaine businesses on the *Lords day*, they were, for all that, suffered to enjoy their *lawfull pleasures*, on the same; such pleasures specially, as might tend to encrease of manhood, and did not draw men on to unthrifitie courses. For, in a Statute made in the 12. yeere of Richard the second, it was accorded and assented, *That no Servant of Husbandry, or Labourer, nor servant of Artificer, or Victualler, shall from henceforth beare any Buckler, Sword, nor Dagger, upon forfeiture of the same, &c.* but such Servants and Labourers shall have Bowes and Arrowes, and use the same the Sundayes and holy-dayes, and leave all play at Tennis, or Foot-ball, and other Games called Coytes, Dice, Casting of the Stone, Kailes, and other such impertune [or unthrifitie] Games: the Sheriffes, Majors, Bayliffes, and Constables, having power to arrest all doers against this Statute, Cap. 6. This Statute, in the 11. of King Henry the fourth, Cap. 4. was againe confirmed; it being there willed, *that it be firmly holden and kept:* and afterwards, it seemes, set on foot againe by King Edward the fourth. For, by the *Proeme* of the Statute, 17. of this King Edward the fourth, cap. 3. it seemeth, that many in that time, did spend their holy dayes, in Dice, Quoites, Tennis, Bowling, and the like unlawfull Games, forbidden (as is there affirmed) by the Lawes of the Realme. Which said unlawfull Games are thereupon prohibited, under a further penaltie in the Statute mentioned. By which it is most manifest, that the prohibition was not onely in reference to the time, Sundayes, or any other

other holy dayes; but chiefly to the Games themselves, which were unlawfull at all times: as tending to the impoverishing of some, and the pernicious example of diverse others of the Kings Liege people. So, that the Recreation by the Law prohibited, were onely of a riotous and unthrifitie nature; and thereupon forbidden by King Edward the fourth, at all times indifferently: *Dancing*, and other pastimes of that harmelesse qualitie, being meane while permitted, and pursued accordingly; as wee shall see at large in the next Section. For publike actions in these times, the greatest were the Coronation of King Henry the fifth, on *Passion Sunday*, Anno 1413. together with the Battailles of *Towton*, and *Barnet*; one, on *Palme-Sunday*; and the other, on *Easter day*: the greatest Fields that ever were fought in England.

(12) Now, for the Doctrine and the practice of these present times; wee cannot take a better view, than in *John de Burgo*, Chancellor of the Univerfitie of Cambridge, about the latter end of King Henry the sixth. First, doctrinally he determineth, as before was said, that the *Lords day* was instituted by the authority of the Church; and that it is no otherwise to be observed, than by the Canons of the Church wee are bound to keepe it. Then, for the name of Sabbath, that the *Lords day*, & *qualibet dies statuta ad divinam culturam*, and every day appointed for Gods publike service, may be so entituled, because in them wee are to rest from all servile workes; such as are Arts Mechanicke, Husbandry, Law-dayes, and going to Markets, with other things, *qua ab Ecclesia determinantur*, which are determined by the Church. Lastly, that on those dayes, *in- sistendum est orationibus, &c.* wee must be busied at our prayers, the publike service of the Church, in Hymnes, and in spirituall Songs, and in hearing Sermons. Next, practically, for such things as were then allowed of, hee doth sort them thus. First, generally, *Non tamen prohibentur his diebus facere quae pertinent ad providentiam necessarium,*

Id. ib. I.

rum, &c. Wee are not those dayes restrained from doing such things, as conduce to the providing of necessities either for our selves, or for our neighbours: as, in preserving of our persons, or of our substance; or, in avoiding any losse that might happen to us. Particularly next, *si jacentibus, &c.* In case our Corne and Hay, in the fields abroad, be in danger of a tempest, wee may bring it in, yea, though it be upon the *Sabbath*. Butchers and Victuallers, if they make readie on the *holy dayes*, what they must sell the morrow after, either in open Market, or in their Shops; in case they cannot dresse it on the day before; or being dresse, they cannot keepe it: *non peccant mortaliter*, they fall not by so doing, into mortall sinne. *Vectores mercium, &c.*

Id. ib. L.

Carriers of Wares, or Men, or Victuals, unto distant places, in case they cannot doe it upon other dayes without inconvenience, are to be excused. Barbers and Chirurgions, Smithes or Farriers, if on the *holy dayes* they doe the workes of their dayly labour, especially *propter necessitatem eorum quibus serviunt*, for the necessities of those who want their helpe, are excusable also; but not, in case they doe it chiefly for desire of gaine. Messengers, Posts, and Travellers, that travaile, if some speciall occasion be, on the *holy dayes*; whether they doe it for reward, or not; *non audeo condemnare*, are not at all to be condemned. As neither Millers, which doe grinde either with Water-Mills, or Wind-Mills, and so can doe their worke without much labour; but they may keepe the custome of the place in the which they live, not being otherwise commanded by their Ordinaries: *secus si tractu jumentorum multum faciant*; but if it be an Horse-Mill, then the case is altered: So, buying and selling on those dayes, in some present exigent, as the providing necessarie Victuals for the day, was not held unlawfull: *dum tamen exercentes ea non subtrahunt se Divinis Officiis*, in case they did not thereby keepe themselves from Gods publike service. Lastly, for *Recreations*, for dancing on those dayes, hee determines thus:

Id. ib. N.

Id. ib. O.

Id. ib. Q.

“ That

“ That they which dance on any of the *holy dayes*, either
 “ to stirre themselves, or others, unto *earnall lusts*, commit
 “ mortall sinne; and so they doe (saith he) in case they doe
 “ it any day. But it is otherwise, if they dance upon honest
 “ causes, and no naughtie purpose; and that the persons be
 “ not by Law restrained. *Choreas ducentes, maxime in diebus festis, causa incitandi se, vel alios, ad peccatum mortale, peccant mortaliter: & similiter si in profestis diebus hoc fiat: secus si hoc fiat ex causa honesta, & intentione non corrupta, & a persona, cui talia non sunt prohibita*: as hee at large resolves the matter. Which his determination, compared with that before remembred, out of the Statute-Lawes of Richard the second, King Henry the fourth, and King Edward the fourth, make the matter plaine, that in these times all honest *Recreations* were permitted on the *Lords day*, and the other *holy dayes*, which either might enable the body, or refresh the minde.

(13) As for the times of King Henry the eight, wee cannot have a better warrant for the Doctrine then, than by two publike Writings, in those times set out. The Prelates, and other learned men of the *English Clergie*, had in the latter end of that Princes Reigne, set forth a Booke, which they entituled, *The institution of a Christian man*; containing the exposition or interpretation of the Common Creed, the seven Sacraments, the ten Commandments, &c. This Booke they published in the yeere 1537. subscribed it with the names of all the Bishops then in being, eight of the Archdeacons, and seventene Doctors of chiefe note; and dedicated to the King; “ submitting *epistole Dedic.*
 “ it to his most excellent wisedome, and exact judgement,
 “ by him to be recognised, over-seene, and corrected, if he
 “ found any word, or sentence in it, meet to be changed,
 “ qualified, or further expounded, for the plaine setting forth
 “ of his most vertuous desire and purpose in that behalfe,
 (for at his instance and command it was undertaken.) Some fixe yeeres after that, Anno 1543. the Worke attaining to
 Qq 2 good

good credit, and having beene both seene and well liked by the Lords Spirituall and Temporall, and the Netther House of Parliament; it was set out againe by the Kings Commandement, under the Title of, *A necessarie Doctrine and erudition for any Christen man*, with an Epistle of the Kings, To all his faithfull and loving Subjects: "Wherein
 "it is affirmed, to be a true declaration of the true know-
 "ledge of God and his Word, with the principall Articles
 "of Religion, whereby men may uniformly be led and
 "taught in the true understanding of that, which is neces-
 "sarie for every Christen man to know, for the ordering
 "of himselfe in this life, agreeable unto the will and
 "pleasure of Almighty God. Now in this Booke, which
 is the very same, almost, with that first published by the
 Clergie, and had beene well allowed of, as before is said,
 by the Lords Spirituall and Temporall, and the House of
 Commons, it is thus determined. *As touching this Com-*
mandement, there is a notable difference betwene this
and the other nine. For, as S. Austin saith, all the other
nine be merely Morall Commandements, and belonged
not onely to the Jewes, and all other people of the world,
in the time of the Old Testament, but also belong now to
all Christen people, in the New Testament. But this
Precept of the Sabbot, as concerning rest from bodily
labour, the seventh day, is Ceremoniall, and pertained
onely to the Jewes, in the Old Testament, before the com-
ming of Christ, and pertaineth not to us Christen
people, in the New Testament. Heberthelesse, as con-
cerning the spirituall Rest, which is figured and signified
by this corporall Rest, that is to say, Rest from all
carnall workes of the flesh, and all manner of sinne;
this Precept is Morall, and remaineth still, and bindeth
them that belong unto Christ: and not so; every se-
venth day onely, but so; all dayes, houres, and times.
For at all times we be bound to rest from fulfilling our
owne carnall will and pleasures, &c. Furthermore, be-
 sides.

does this spirituall Rest, which chiefly and principally is
required of us, we be bound by this Precept, at certaine
times, to cease from bodily labour, and to give our mindes
entirely and holly unto God; to heare the Divine Service;
approved, used, and obserbed in the Church; and also the
Word of God; to acknowledge our owne sinfulness unto
God, and his great mercie and goodnesse to us; to give
thanks unto him for his benefits; to make publike and
common prayer for all things needfull; to visit the sick,
to instruct every man his Childzen and Family in vertue
and goodnesse, and such other like workes. Which things
although all Christen people be bound unto by this Com-
mandement, yet the Sabbots day, which is called the
Saturday, is not now prescribed and appointed thereunto,
as it was unto the Jewes; but in stead of the Sabbote day,
succedeth the Sunday, in the memorie of Christis Resur-
rection, and also many other holy and festivall dayes,
which the Church hath ordained from time to time; which
be called holy dayes, not because one day is moze accepta-
ble to God than another, but because the Church hath or-
dained, that upon those dayes we should give our selves
holely, without any impediment, unto such holy workes, as
be before expessed; whereas, upon other dayes, we may
doe and apply our selves to bodily labour, and be thereby
much lettred from such holy and spirituall workes. Now,
lest it might be thought, that nothing else was lawfull to
be done on the holy dayes, but that which is before remem-
bred; it pleased them to explaine themselves, and to adde
as followeth: viz. That men must have a speciall regard,
that they be not over-scrupulous, or rather superstitious,
in abstaining from bodily labour on the holy day. For
notwithstanding all that is afore spoken, it is not
meant, but we may upon the holy day give our selves
to labour, for the speedie performance of the necessarie
affaires of the Prince and Common-wealsh, at the com-
mandement of them that have rule and authoritie therein:

And also in all other times of necessity; as for saving of our Cowne and Cattell, when it is like to be in danger, or like to be destroyed, if remedie be not had in time. For this Lesson our Saviour taught us in his holy Gospel, and wee need not have any grudge or scruple in Conscience, in case of such necessity, to labour on the holy dayes; but rather we should offend, if we should for scrupulositie not save, that God hath sent for the sustenance and reliefe of his people. And yet, in such times of necessity, if their businesse be not very great and urgent, men ought to have such regard to the holy day, that they doe bestow some convenient time, in hearing Divine Service, as is aforesaid. So that wee see, that by the publike Doctrine of those times, there was not any thing either determined, or allowed of, in the present businesse, but what was very consonant unto the Doctrine of the Fathers, and resolutions of the Learned, in the former times; and what was seconded by the Martyrs in this Church of England, and those most excellent Princes which next followed; to which now wee hasten.

CHAP.



CHAP. VIII.

The storie of the *Lords day*, from the reformation of Religion, in this Kingdome, till this present time.

(1) The Doctrine of the Sabbath, and the Lords day, delivered by three severall Martyrs, conformably to the judgement of the Protestants, before remembred. (2) The Lords day, and the other holy dayes, confessed by all this Kingdome, in the Court of Parliament, to have no other ground, than the authoritie of the Church. (3) The meaning and occasion of that Clause in the Common Prayer-Booke, Lord have mercie upon us, &c. repeated at the end of the fourth Commandement. (4) That by the Queenes Injunctions, and the first Parliament of her Reigne, the Lords day was not meant for a Sabbath day. (5) The Doctrine in the Homilies delivered, about the Lords day, and the Sabbath. (6) The summe and substance of that Homily; and that it makes not any thing for a Lords day Sabbath. (7) The first originall of the New Sabbath Speculations, in this Church of England; by whom, and for what cause, invented. (8) Strange and most monstrous Paradoxes, preached on occasion of the former Doctrines; and of the other dangerous effects thereof. (9) What care was taken of the Lords day, in King James his Reigne; the

spreading of the former Doctrines; and of the Articles of Ireland. (10) The Jewish Sabbath set on foot: and of King James his declaration about lawfull sports; on the Lords day. (11) What Tracts were writ and published in that Princes time; in opposition to the Doctrines before remembred. (12) In what estate the Lords day; and the other holy dayes, have stood in Scotland, since the reformation of Religion in that Kingdome. (13) Statutes about the Lords day, made in the Reigne of our dread Sovereigne, now being; and the misconstruing of the same: His Majestie reviveth and enlargeth the declaration of King James. (14) An exhortation to obedience unto his Majesties most Christian purpose, concludes this Historie.

(1)



Thus are wee safely come to these present times, the times of reformation: wherein, what ever had beene taught or done in the former dayes, was publicly brought unto the Test; and if not well approoved of, layd aside, either as unprofitable, or plainly hurtfull. So dealt the Reformatours of the Church of England, as with other things, with that which wee have now in hand, the Lords day, and the other holy dayes: keeping the dayes, as many of them, as were thought convenient for the advancement of true godlinesse, and encrease of pietie; but paring off those superstitious conceits, and matters of opinion, which had beene entertained about them. But first, before wee come to this, wee will, by way of preparation, lay downe the judgements of some men in the present point; men of good qualitie in their times, and such as were content to be made a sacrifice, in the Common Cause. Of these, I shall take notice of three particularly, according to the severall times in the which they lived. And first, wee will

will beginne with Master Fryth, who suffered in the yeere 1533. who in his Declaration of Baptisme, thus declares himselfe. "Our fore-fathers (saith he) which were in the beginning of the Church, did abrogate the Sabbath, to the intent that men might have an ensample of Christian liberty, &c. Howbeit because it was necessary that a day should be reserved in which the people should come together, to heare the Word of God, they ordained instead of the Sabbath which was Saturday, the next day following, which is Sunday. And although they might have kept the Saturday with the Jew, as a thing indifferent; yet they did much better. Some three yeeres after him, Anno 1536. being the 28. of Henry the 8. suffered Master Tyndall; who in his answer to Sir Thomas More, hath resolved it thus. "As for the Sabbath we be Lords over the Sabbath, and may yet change it into Monday, or into any other day, as wee see need; or may make every tenth day holy day onely, if we see cause why. Neither was there any cause to change it from the Saturday, but to put a difference between us and the Jewes; neither need wee any holy day at all, if the people might be taught without it. Last of all, Bishop Hooper, sometimes Bishop of Gloucester, who suffered in Queene Maries reigne, doth in a Treatise by him written on the ten Commandments, and printed in the yeere 1550. goe the selfe-same way. "We may not thinke (saith hee) that God gave any more holinesse to the Sabbath, than to the other dayes. For if yee consider Friday, Saturday, or Sunday, in as much as they be dayes, and the worke of God, the one is no more holy than the other: but that day is alwayes most holy, in the which we most apply and give our selves unto holy works. To that end did he sanctifie the Sabbath day, not that we should give our selves to illnesse, or such Ethnical pastime as is now used amongst Ethnical people: but being free that day from the travailes of this world, we might consider the works and benefits of God, with thanksgiving; heare.

“ heare the Word of God, honour him and feare him; then
 “ to learne who, and where bee the poore of Christ, that
 “ want our helpe. Thus they; and they amongst them have
 resolved on these foure conclusions. First, *That one day is no
 more holy than another, the Sunday than the Saturday or the
 Friday*; further than they are set apart for holy uses. Se-
 condly, *That the Lords day hath no institution from divine
 authority*, but was ordained by our fore-fathers in the be-
 ginning of the Church, that so the people might have a day
 to come together, and heare Gods Word: thirdly, *That still
 the Church hath power to change the day, from Sunday unto
 Monday, or what day she will*. And lastly, *That one day in
 seven, is not the Morall part of the fourth Commandment*:
 for M. Tyndall saith expressly, that by the Church of God,
 each tenth day only may be kept holy, if wee see cause why.
 So that the marvell is the greater, that any man should now
 affirme, as some men have done, that they are willing to
 lay downe both their lives and livings, in maintenance of
 those contrary Opinions, which in these latter dayes have
 been taken up.

(2) Now that which was affirmed by them, in their par-
 ticulars, was not long afterwards made good by the gene-
 rall body of this Church and State, the King, the Lords
 Spirituall and Temporall, and all the Commons met in
 5. & 6. Edm. 6. Parliament, Anno the fift and sixt of King Edward the sixt;
 cap. 3. where, to the honour of Almighty God, it was thus enacted.
 For as much as men be not at all times so mindfull to
 laud and praise God, so readie to resoꝛt to heare Gods
 Holy Word, and to come to the holy Communion, &c. as
 their bounden duty doth require: therefore, to call men
 to remembrance of their dutie, and to help their infirmi-
 tie, it hath bene wholesomely provided, that there should
 be some certaine times and dayes appointed, wherein the
 Christians should cease from all kind of labour, and apply
 themselves only and wholly unto the aforesaid holy works
 properly pertaining to true Religion, &c. Which workes

as

as they may well be called Gods Service, to the times espe-
 ctally appointed for the same, are called holy dayes: not
 for the matter of the nature either of the time or day &c.
 for so all dayes and times are of like holinesse, but for the
 nature and condition of such holy works, &c. whereunto
 such times and dayes are sanctified and hallowed: that is
 to say, separated from all prophane uses, and dedicated not
 unto any Saint or Creature, but onely unto God, and his
 true worship. Neither is it to be thought, that there is any
 certaine time or definite number of dayes, prescribed in
 holy Scripture; but the appointment both of the time, and
 also of the number of dayes, is left by the authoritie of
 Gods Word unto the libertie of Christs Church, to be de-
 termined and assigned orderly in every Countrey, by the
 discretion of the Rulers and Ministers thereof, as they shall
 iudge most expedient, to the true setting forth of Gods
 glory, and edification of their people. Nor is it to be
 thought, that all this Preamble was made in reference to
 the holy dayes or Saints dayes only; whose being left to the
 authoritie of the Church, was never questioned: but in re-
 lation to the Lords day also, as by the Act it selfe doth at
 full appeare; for so it followeth in the Act: *Be it therfore
 enacted, &c. That all the dayes hereafter mentioned, shall
 be kept and commanded to be kept holy dayes, and none
 other: that is to say, all Sundayes in the yeere the Feasts
 of the Circumcision of our Lord Jesus Christ, of the Epi-
 phanie, of the Purification, (with all the rest now kept, and
 there named particularly) and that none other day shall be
 kept and commanded to be kept holy day, and to abstaine
 from lawfull bodily labour*. Nay, which is more, there is
 a further Clause in the selfe-same Act, which plainly shewes
 that they had no such thought of the Lords day, as that it
 was a Sabbath, or so to be observed, as the Sabbath was;
 and therefore did provide it, and enact by the authoritie
 aforesaid, *That it shall be lawfull to every Husbandman,
 Labourer, Fisherman, and to all and every other person and
 persons;*

persons, of what estate, degree, or condition be or they be, upon the holy dayes also; as in Harvest, or at any other times in the yeere, when necessitie shall so require, to labour, ride, fish, or worke any kind of worke, at their free-wills and pleasure: any thing in this Act unto the contrary notwithstanding. This is the totall of this Act; which, if examined well, as it ought to be, will yeeld us all those propositions or conclusions, before remembred; which we collected from the writings of those three particular *Martyrs*. Nor is it to be said, that it is repealed, and of no authoritie: Repealed, indeed, it was, in the first yeere of Queene *Mary*; and stood repealed in Law, though otherwise in use and practice, all the long Reigne of Queene *Elizabeth*: but in the first yeere of King *James*, was revived againe. Note here, that in the selfe-same Parliament, the *Common Prayer Booke*, now in use, being reviewed by many godly Prelates, was confirmed and authorized: wherein so much of the said Act, as doth concerne the names and number of the *holy dayes*, is expressed, and as it were incorporate into the same. Which makes it manifest, that in the purpose of the Church, the *Sunday* was no other wise esteemed of than another *holy day*. Note further, that the Parliament had declared no more, than what had formerly beene set forth by the King himselfe, *Injunctions* by him published, *Anno 1547.* in the first entrance of his Reigne, which being *verbatim* (in this point) set out by Queene *Elizabeth*, I shall deferre untill we come unto her time. So that both by Ecclesiasticall, Regall, and Parliamentarie authoritie, the *Lords day* was confessed to be of very different nature from the former *Sabbath*.

(3) But to proceed, this Statute, as before we said, was made in *Anno 5. and 6. of Edward the sixth*: And in that very Parliament, the *Common Prayer-Booke* was confirmed, which still remains in use amongst us: save, that there was an alteration or addition of certaine Lessons to be used on every Sunday of the yeere; the forme of the

Letanie

2 Eliz. cap. 22

Letanie altered and corrected; and two sentences added in the delivery of the Sacrament unto the Communicants. Now in this *Common Prayer-Booke* thus confirmed, in the first and sixth yeeres of King *Edward the 6.* it pleased those who had the altering and revising of it, that the Commandements, which were not in the former *Liturgie*, allowed of in the second of the said Kings Reigne; should now be added, and accounted as a part of this: the people being willed to say after the end of each Commandement, *Lord have mercy upon us, and incline our hearts to keepe this Law.* Which being used accordingly, as well upon the hearing of the fourth Commandement, as of any others; hath given some men a colour to perswade themselves, that certainly it was the meaning of the Church, that we should keepe a *Sabbath* still, though the day be changed; and that wee are obliged to doe it, by the fourth Commandement. Assuredly, they who so conclude conclude against the meaning of the Booke, and of them that made it. Against the meaning of the Booke: for if the Booke had so intended, that that ejaculation was to bee understood in a literall sence according as the words are laid downe in *terminis*: it then must be the meaning of the Booke, that we should pray unto the Lord, to keep the *Sabbath* of the *Jewes*, even the *seventh day* precisely, from the Worlds Creation, and keepe it in the selfe-same manner, as the *Jewes* once did; which no man, I presume, will say, was the meaning of it. For, of the changing of the *day*, there is nothing said, nor nothing intimated; but the whole Law laid downe in *terminis*, as the Lord delivered it. Against the meaning also of them that made it; for they that made the Booke, and reviewed it afterwards and caused these passages and Prayers to be added to it; *Cranmer*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*; *Ridley*, Bishop of *London*; and certaine others of the Prelates, then and there assembled: were the same men, by whose advice and counsaile, the Act before remembred, about keeping *holy dayes*, was in the selfe-same Parliament drawne

cap. 1.

drawne up, and perfected. They which confirmed the Booke, by them so contrived, the selfe-same Lords and Commons, which had consented thereunto. And hee by whose most supreme power it was authorized; the very same, which in his regall *Injunctions*, five yeeres before, and those continuing still in force, had absolutely determined of the *Lords day*, that it was not founded on the fourth Commandement. And is it possible we should conceive so ill of those reverend, wise, and sacred persons, as that they would erect a *Sabbath* in the one *Act*, and beat it downe so totally in the other: to tell us in the *Service-Booke*, that we are bound to keepe a *Sabbath*, and that the time and day of Gods publike worship, is either pointed out in the *fourth Commandement*, or otherwise ordained by *Divine Authoritie*; and in the selfe-same breath, to tell us, that there is neither *certaine time*, nor *definite number of dayes*, prescribed in Scripture, but all this left unto the libertie of the Church? I say, as formerly I said, it is impossible we should think so ill of such reverend persons: nor doe I thinke, that any will so thinke hereafter, when they have once considered the *non sequitur* of their owne conclusions. As for the *Prayer* there used, wee may thus expound it, according to the *doctrine* and the *practice* both, of those very times: *viz.* That their intent and meaning was, to teach the people, to pray unto the Lord, to *incline their hearts to keepe that Law*, as farre as it contained the *Law of Nature*, and had beene entertained in the *Christian Church*; as also to have mercy on them for the neglect thereof, in those *holy dayes*, which by the *Wisdom* and *Authoritie* of his Church, had beene set apart for Gods publike Service. Besides, this *Prayer* was then conceived, when there was no suspicion, that any would make use thereof, to introduce a *Jewish Sabbath*; but when men rather were inclined to the contrarie error, to take away those certaine and appointed times, *Lords dayes*, and other *holy dayes*, which by the wisdom

wisdom of the Church had beene retained in the *Reformation*. The *Anabaptists* were strongly bent that way, as before wee shewed; and if wee looke into the *Articles* of our Church, we shall there finde what speciall care ^{Ar-See Art. 26, 27, 38, 39.} was taken, to suppress their errors in other points, which had tooke footing, as it seemes, in this Church and Kingdome. Therefore the more likely is it, that this Clause was added, to crush their furious fancies, in this particular, of not hallowing certaine dayes and times to Gods publike Service. Yet I conceive withall, that had those reverend Prelates fore-seene how much their pious purpose would have beene abused, by wresting it to introduce a *Sabbath*, which they never meant; they would have cast their meaning in another mould.

(4) Proceed wee to the Reigne of Queene *Elizabeth*, that so much celebrated Princesse; and in the first place, we shall meet with her *Injunctions*, published the first yeere of her Empire: in which, the *Sunday* is not onely counted with the other *holy dayes*; but labour, at some times permitted; and which is more, enjoynd upon it. King *Edward* her beloved Brother had formerly declared his will and pleasure, in the selfe-same words; which she did new revive and publish in this forme that followeth. All the *Queenes* faithfull and loving *Subjects* shall from henceforth celebrate and keepe their holy dayes according to Gods holy Will and Pleasure: that is, in hearing the Word of God read, and taught; in private and publike Prayers; in knowledging their offences unto God, and amendment of the same; in reconciling of themselves charitably to their Neighbours, where displeasure hath bene; in oftentimes receiving the Communion of the Bodie and Bloud of Christ; in visiting the Poore, and Sick; using all sobernesse, and godly conversation. This seemes to be severe enough; but what followeth next? Yet notwithstanding, all Parsons, Vicars, and Curates shall teach and declare to their Parishioners, that they

1 Eliz. c. 2.

may with a safe and quiet Conscience, after their Common Prayer, in the time of Harvest, labour upon the holy and festivall dayes, and save that thing which God hath sent; And if for any scrupulositie, or grudge of Conscience, men should superstitiously abstaine from working on these daies, that then they should grievously offend and displease God. This makes it evident, that Queen Elizabeth in her owne particular, tooke not the Lords day for a Sabbath; or to bee of a different nature from the other holy dayes: nor was it taken so, by the whole Body of our Church, and State, in the first Parliament of her Reigne; what time it was enacted, That all and every person and persons inhabiting within this Realme, and any other the Queenes Dominions, shall diligently and faithfully, having no lawfull or reasonable excuse to be absent, endeavour themselves to resort to their Parish Church, or Chappell, accustomed; or upon reasonable let thereof, to some usuall place where Common Prayer shall be used in such time of let, upon every Sunday, and other dayes ordained and used to be kept as holy dayes, and then and there to abide orderly and soberly, during the time of Common Prayer, Preaching, or other service of God. Nor was it onely so enacted, and no more but so; but in the sequell of the Law, the selfe-same penaltie is imposed, on them which come not to the Church on the holy dayes, which is inflicted upon those which neglect the Sundayes. For so it followeth in the Statute before remembred, That every person so offending, shall not alone be subject unto the censures of the Church, but shall forfeit for every such offence twelvet pence, to be levied to the use of the poore of the same Parish by the Church-wardens of the same, &c. Which were it executed, as it ought, the holy dayes might in little time regaine that credit, which they now have lost. This Law is still in force, and still like to be; and by this Law, the Sundayes and the holy dayes are alike regarded. Nor by the Law onely, but by the purpose and intent of holy Church,

Church, who in her publike Liturgie is as full and large for every one of the holy dayes, as for the Sunday, the Letanie excepted onely. For otherwise, by the rule and prescript thereof, the same Religious Offices are designed for both, the same devout attendance required for both; and whatsoever else may make both equall. And therefore by this Statute, and the Common Prayer-Booke, wee are to keepe more Sabbaths than the Lords day Sabbath, or else none at all.

(5) Next looke we on the Homilies, part of the publike Monuments of the Church of England, set forth and authorized, Anno 1562, being the 4. of that Queenes Reigne. In that, intituled, Of the place and time of Prayer, we shall finde it thus. As concerning the time in which God hath appointed his people to assemble together solemnly, it doth appeare by the fourth Commandement, &c. And albeit this Commandement of God doth not binde Christian people so straitly to observe and keepe the utter ceremonies of the Sabbath day as it did the Jewes, as touching the forbearing of worke and labour in the time of great necessity, and as touching the precise keeping of the seventh day, after the manner of the Jewes: (for we keepe now the first day, which is our Sunday, and make that our Sabbath, that is our day of rest, in honour of our Saviour Christ, who as upon that day rose from death, conquering the same most triumphantly.) Yet notwithstanding whatsoever is found in the Commandement appertaining to the Law of Nature, as a thing most godly, most iust, and needfull for the setting forth of Gods glory, ought to be retained and kept of all good Christian people. And therefore by this Commandement we ought to have a time, as one day in the weeke, wherein we ought to rest yea from our lawfull and needfull works. For like as it appeareth by this Commandement, that no man in the six dayes ought to be slothfull and idle, but diligently to labour in that state wherein God hath set him, even so God hath given expresse charge

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to all men, that upon the Sabbath day, which is now our Sunday, they should rease from all weekly and workeday labour: to the intent that like as God himselfe wrought six dayes and rested the seventh, and blessed and sanctified it, and consecrated it to quietnesse and rest from labour; euenso Gods obedient people should use the Sunday holily, & rest from their Common and daily businesse, and also the themselves wholly to heavenly exercises of Gods true religion and service. So that God doth not onely command the obseruation of this holy day; but also by his owne example both stirre and prouoke us to the diligent keeping of the same, &c. Thus it may plainly appeare that Gods Will and Commandement was to haue a solempne time and standing day in the weeke, wherein the people should come together, and haue in remembrance his wonderfull benefits, and to render him thanks for them, as apperfaineth to loving, kinde, and obedient people. This example and Commandement of God, the godly Christian people beganne to follow immediately after the Ascension of our Lord Christ, and beganne to chole them a standing day of the weeke to come together in: yet not the seauenth day, which the Iewes kept, but the Lords day, the day of the Lords resurrection, the day after the seauenth day, which is the first day of the weeke, &c. Sithence which time, Gods people hath alwayes in all Ages, without any gain-saying, used to come together on the Sunday, to celebrate and honour the Lords blessed Name, and carefully to keep that day in holy rest and quietnesse, both man, and woman, childe, servant and stranger. So farre the Homilie: and this is all thereof which is doctrinall. The residue consists in reprehension of two sorts of men: one of the which, if they had any businesse to doe, though there were no extreme neede, should not spare the Sunday, but used all dayes alike, the holy dayes and worke-dayes all as one; the other so consumed the day in gluttony and drunkennesse, and such fleshy dishonestie, that as it is there said, the Lord was more dishonoured

honoured and the Deuill better serbed on the Sunday, then upon all the dayes in the weeke besides.

(6) This saith the Homily, and this hath often beene alleaged, as well to prove a *Lords day Sabbath*, to bee allowed of by the Doctrine of the Church of *England*; as at this present time, to iustifie the disobedience of those men, who have refused to publish the Princes pleasure, in point of recreations. But this, if well examined, will as little help them, as *Lord haue mercy upon us*, in the *Common Prayer Booke*. For first it is here said, that there is no more of the fourth Commandement to bee retained and kept of good Christian people, than *whatsoeuer is found in it appertaining to the Law of Nature*. But wee have shewed before, that there is nothing in the fourth Commandement of the *Law of nature*, but that some time be set apart for Gods publike service: the Precept, so farre forth, as it enjoynes *one day in seven*, or the seventh day precisely from the Worlds creation, being avowed for *ceremoniall* by all kind of Writers. Secondly it is said, not that the *Lords day* was enjoyned by *Divine authority*, either by *Christ* himselfe, or his *Apostles*; but chosen for a standing day to come together in, by godly Christian people, immediately after the *Ascension* of our Lord Christ. If chose by them, then not enjoyned by the *Apostles*: if not till after the *Ascension* of our Saviour Christ, then not at all by him commanded. Thirdly, whereas they chose themselves a *standing day* in the weeke, to come together in; they did not this by any obligation layed upon them by the *fourth Commandement*, but only by a voluntary following of Gods example, and the *Analogie* or *equity* of Gods Commandement: which was (they doe not say which is) that he would haue, [amongst the *Iewes*] a solempne time and *standing day in the weeke*, wherein the people should haue in remembrance his wonderfull benefits, and render thanks to him for the same. For it is said, That this Example and Commandement of God, the godly Christian people began to follow after Christs *Ascension*: so that

that it seemes they might have chosen, whether they would have followed it, or not. Fourthly, when they had chose this day, which wee now observe, for their publike meetings, they did not think themselves obliged by the fourth Commandement, to *forbeare worke and labour in time of great necessity*; or to the *precise keeping of the same, after the manner of the Jewes*: both which they must have done, had they conceived the keeping of one day in seven, to be the *morall* part of the *fourth Commandement*; and to oblige us now, no lesse, than it did them formerly, as some men have taught us. Now whereas some have drawne from hence, these two Conclusions, First, that according to this *Homily* we ought to *keepe one day in seven, by the fourth Commandement*; and secondly, that *we must spend it wholly in religious exercises*: I would faine know, how those conclusions can be raised from the former premisses. It's true, the *Homily* hath told us, that by the *4th Commandement* we ought to have a time, *as one day in the weeke*, wherein we ought to rest from our needfull workes. Where note, that there it is not said, that by the *fourth Commandement* we ought to have *one day in the weeke*, which is plaine and peremptory; but that we ought to have a time, *as one day in the weeke*, which was plainly arbitrary. A time we ought to have by the *fourth Commandement*, as being that part of it which pertaines to the *Law of Nature*: but for the next words, *as one day in the weeke*, they are not there laid downe, as imposed on us by the Law; but only instanced in, as settled at that time in the Church of God. So where it is affirmed in another place, that Gods will and commandement was, to have a *solemn time and standing day in the weeke*; wee grant indeed that so it was: and that the *Godly Christian people* in the Primitive times, were easily induced to give God no lesse, than what he formerly commanded. But had the meaning of the *Homilie* beene this, that wee were bound to have a *standing day in the weeke*, by the fourth Commandement; they would have plainly said, *It is Gods will and pleasure that*

that it should be so, and not have told us what it was, in the times before. It's true, the *Homily* hath told us, that wee should rest our selves, on *Sunday*, from our common businesse, and *so give our selves wholly to heavenly exercises of Gods true Religion and service*. Where note, it is not said, that wee should spend the day *wholly* in heavenly exercises; for then there were no time allowed us to eate and drinke, which are meere naturall employments: but that wee give *our selves wholly*, that is our *whole selves* body and soule, to the performance of those heavenly exercises, which are required of us in the way of true Religion, and Gods publike service. It is accounted, as wee have formerly made plaine, to bee the ceremoniall part of the fourth Commandement, *Quod fiat semel in qualibet hebdomada; & quod fiat in una die tota, ista observatio; & quod per totam diem abstineatur ab operibus servilibus*: first, the determining of the day, to bee one in seven; next, that this one day *wholly* be so employed; and last of all, that *all that day* there bee an absolute cessation from all servile workes. Therefore the spending *wholly* of one day in seven, being ceremoniall; comes not within the compasse of the *Homily*: which would have no more of the fourth Commandement to bee kept amongst us, than what is appertaining to the *Law of Nature*. Now it pertaines unto the *Law of Nature*, that for the times appointed to Gods publike worship, we *wholly* sequester our selves from all worldly businesses; *naturale est quod dum Deum colimus, ab aliis abstinemus*, as *Tostatus* hath it: and then the meaning of the *Homily* will be briefly this, that for *those times* which are appointed by the Church, for the assembly of Gods people, we should lay by our daily businesse and all worldly thoughts, and *wholly* give our selves to the heavenly exercises of Gods true Religion & service. But to encounter them at their own weapon, it is expressly said in the Act of Parliament about keeping *holy dayes*, that on the *dayes & times* appointed, as well the other *holy dayes*, as the *Sunday*, *Christians should cease*
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from all kind of labour, and only and wholly apply themselves to such holy workes as appertain to true Religion: the very same with that delivered in the *Homily*. If wholly in the *Homilie* must bee applyed unto the day, then it must bee there: and then the *Saints dayes*, and the other *holy dayes*, must be wholly spent, in religious exercises. When once we see them doe the one, wee will bethinke our selves of doing the other. And this I take to bee the minde and meaning of that *Homilie*; sure I am yet is most agreeable unto the doctrine of those times, and the men that made it. For had it beene their purpose to advance the *Sunday*, into the roome and dignitie of the *Jewish Sabbath*, as some now gather from the same: they must directly have opposed the *Queenes Injunctions*, wherein it is no otherwise esteemed of than the other *holy dayes*; and labour on the same permitted in time of Harvest. And not so onely, but they must have confuted those Acts of Parliament, 5. and 6. of *Edward the 6.* and 1. *Eliz.* before remembered: In the first of which the *Sunday*, and the other *holy dayes*, are publikely avowed to have no other ground, than the *Authoritie* of the *Church*; and in the 2. diligent attendance in the *Church*, both on the one and on the other, is required alike, and the like penaltie inflicted on all those which offend therein. Nay they must needs runne crosse, against the service of the Church, which hath appointed no lesse solemne forme of Prayers, upon the other *holy dayes*, than upon the *Sunday*, had they intended to advance the *Sunday* to so high a pitch, as some men imagine. As for the residue of that *Homilie*, which consists in popular reproofes and exhortations, that concernes not us, in reference to the point in hand. The *Homilies*, those parts thereof especially, which tend to the correction of manners, and reformation of abuses, were made agreeable to those times, wherein they were first published. If in those times, men made no difference betweene the *working day* and *holy day*, but kept their *Faires* and *Markets*, and *bought* and

and sold, and rowed and ferryed, and drows and carryed, and rode and journeyed, and did their other businesse, on the *Sunday*, as well as on the other daies, when there was no such need but that they might have tarried longer: they were the more to blame, no doubt, in trespassing so wilfully against the *Canons* of the *Church*, and *Acts* of *Parliament*, which had restrained many of the things there specified. The *Homily* did well to reprove them for it. If on the other side, they spent the day in ungodlinesse and filthinesse, in gluttony, and drunkennesse, and such like other crying sins, as are there particularly noted: the *Prelates* of the *Church* had very ill discharged their duty, had they not tooke some course to have told them of it. But what is that to us, who doe not spend the *Lords day* in such filthy fleshlinesse, (what ever one malicious *Sycophant* hath affirmed therein:) or what is that to dancing, shooting, leaping, vaulting, May-games, and meetings of good Neighbourhood, or any other recreation not by law prohibited; being no such ungodly and filthy acts as are therein mentioned?

(7) Thus upon due search made, and full examination of all parties, we finde no *Lords day Sabbath* in the Booke of *Homilies*: no nor in any writings of particular men, in more than 33. yeeres after the *Homilies* were published. I find indeed that in the yeere 1580. the Magistrates of the Citie of *London* obtained from *Queene Elizabeth*, that Playes and Enterludes should no more bee Acted on the *Sabbath day*, within the Liberties of their Citie. As also that in 83. on the 14. of January being *Sunday*, many were hurt, and eight killed outright by the sudden falling of the Scaffolds in *Paris-garden*. This shewes that *Enterludes* and *Beare-baitings* were then permitted on the *Sunday*, and so they were a long time after, though not within the Citie of *London*: which certainly had not beene suffered, had it beene then conceived that *Sunday* was to bee accounted for a *Sabbath*; at least for such a *Sabbath*, as some now have made us. But in the yeere 1595. some of that faction

Rogers in Pre-
face to the Ar-
ticles.

which before had laboured with small profit, to overthrow the *Hierarchy* and government of this Church of England; now set themselves on worke to ruinate all the orders of it: to beat downe at one blow all dayes and times, which by the wisdom and authoritie of the Church, had beene appointed for Gods service; and in the stead thereof, to erect a Sabbath, of their owne devising. These Sabbath speculations, and Presbyterian directions, as mine Author calls them, they had beene hammering more than ten yeeres before; though they produced them not till now: and in producing of them now, they introduced, saith hee, *A more than either Jewish or Popish Superstition into the Land, to the no small blemish of our Christian profession and scandall of the true servants of God, and therewith doctrine most erroneous, dangerous, and Antichristian.* Of these, the principall was one Doctor Bound, who published first his *Sabbath Doctrines*, Anno 1595. and after with additions to it, and enlargements of it, Anno 1606. Wherein he hath affirmed in generall over all the Booke, that the Commandement of sanctifying every seventh day, as in the Moisaicall Decalogue, is naturall, morall, and perpetuall: that where all other things in the Jewish Church were so changed, that they were cleane taken away, as the Priesthood, the Sacrifices, and the Sacraments; this day, the Sabbath, was so changed, that it still remaineth. p. 91. that there is great reason why we Christians should take our selves as straightly bound to rest upon the Lords day, as the Jewes were on their Sabbath; for being one of the morall Commandements, it bindeth us, as well as them, being of all equal authority. p. 247. And for the Rest upon this Day, that it must be a notable and singular Rest, a most carefull, exact, and precise Rest, after another manner than men were accustomed, p. 124. Then for particulars; no buying of Victuals, Flesh or Fish, Bread or Drinke, 158. no Carriers to travaile on that Day, 160. nor Parkmen, or Drovers, 162. Schollers not to studie the liberall Arts; nor Lawyers to consult the

Cause.

Cause, and peruse mens Evidences, 163. Sergeants, Appraisours, and Sumners, to be restrained from executing their Offices, 164. Iustices not to examine Causes, for preservation of the Peace, 166. No man to travaile on that Day, 192. That Ringing of more Bells than one, that Day, is not to be justified, p. 202. No solemn Feasts to be made on it, 206. nor Wedding Dinners, 209. with a permission notwithstanding to Lords, Knights, and Gentlemen, (hee hoped to finde good welcome for this Dispensation) p. 211. All lawfull Pleasures, and honest Recreations, as Shooting, Fencing, Bowling, (but Bowling, by his leave, is no lawfull Pleasure for all sorts of people) which are permitted on other dayes, were on this Day to be forborne, 202. No man to speake or talke of Pleasures, p. 272. or any other worldly matter, 275. Most Magisterially determined; indeed, more like a Jewish Rabbie, than a Christian Doctor. Yet Jewish and Rabbinicall though his Doctrine were, it carried a faire face and shew of Pietie, at the least in the opinion of the common people; and such, who stood not to examine the true grounds thereof, but tooke it up, on the appearance; such, who did judge thereof, not by the workmanship of the Stuffe, but the glosse and colour. In which, it is most strange to see, how suddenly men were induced not onely to give way unto it, but without more adoe, to abett the same; till in the end, and that in very little time, it grew the most bewitching Errour, the most popular Deceit, that ever had beene set on foot in the Church of England. And verily I perswade my selfe, that many an honest and well-meaning man, both of the Clergie and the Laitye, either because of the appearance of the thing it selfe, or out of some opinion of those men, who first endeavoured to promote it; became exceedingly affected towards the same; as taking it to be a Doctrine sent downe from Heaven, for encrease of Pietie. So easily did they beleieve it, and grew at last so strongly possessed therewith, that in the end they would not willingly be perswaded to conceive other

otherwise thereof, than at first they did; or thinke they swallowed downe the Hooke, when they tooke the Bait. An Hooke indeed, which had so fastned them to thole men, who love to fish in troubled waters; that by this artifice, there was no small hope conceived amongst them, to fortifie their side, and make good that cause, which till this trimme Deceit was thought of, was almost growne desperate. Once, I am sure, that by this meanes, the Brethren, who before endeavoured to bring all Christian Kings and Princes under the yoke of their Presbyteries; made little doubt, to bring them under the command of their Sabbath Doctrines. And though they failed of that applauded paitie, which they so much aimed at, in the advancing of their Elderships; yet hoped they, without more adoe, to bring all higher Powers, what ever, into an equall ranke with the common people, in the observance of their Jewish Sabbatharian rigours. So Doctor Bound declares himselfe, p. 171. "The Magistrate, saith he, and Governour in authoritie, how high soever, cannot take any priviledge to himselfe, whereby he might be occupied about worldly businesse, when other men should rest from labour. It seemes, they hoped to see the greatest Kings, and Princes, make suit unto their Consistorie, for a Dispensation; as often as the great Affaires of State, or what cause soever, induced them otherwise to spend that Day, or any part or parcell of it, than by the new Sabbath Doctrine had beene permitted. For the endearing of the which, as formerly to advance their Elderships, they spared no place, or Text of Scripture, where the word Elder did occurre; and without going to the Heralds, had framed a Pedigree thereof, from Iethro, from Noahs Arke, and from Adam finally: so did these men proceed in their new Devices; publishing out of holy Writ, both the antiquitie and authoritie of their Sabbath day. No passage of Gods Booke unransacked, where there was mention of a Sabbath, whether the Legall Sabbath, charged the Jewes, or the spirituall Sabbath of the Soule,

Soule, from sinne; which was not fitted and applyed to the present purpose: though, if examined, as it ought, with no better reason, than *Paveant illi, & non paveam ego*, was by an ignorant Priest alledged from Scripture, to prove that his Parishioners ought to give the Chancell. Yet, upon confidence of these proofes, they did already begin to sing *Victoria*; especially, by reason of the entertainment which the said Doctrines found with the common people. For, thus the Doctor boasts himselfe, in his second Edition, anno 606. as before was said; *Many godly learned both in their Preachings, Writings, and Disputations, did concurre with him in that argument; and, that the lives of many Christians, in many places of the Kingdome, were framed according to his Doctrine*; p. 61. Particularly, in the Epistle to the Reader, That within few yeeres, three severall profitable Treatises successively were written, by three godly learned Preachers, [Greenham] was one, whose ever were the other two: that in the mouth of two or three witnesses, the Doctrine of the Sabbath might be established. *Egregiam verò laudem, & spolia ampla!*

(8) But whatsoever cause he had thus to boast himselfe, in the successe of his new Doctrines; the Church, I am sure, had little cause to rejoyce thereat. For, what did follow hereupon, but such monstrous paradoxes, and those delivered in the Pulpit, as would make every good man tremble at the hearing of them? First, as my Author tells me, it was Rogers *Trafal* preached at a Market Towne in Oxfordshire, That to doe before the Altar any servile worke or businesse on the Lords day, was as great a sinne, as to kill a man; or commit adulterie. Secondly, preached in Somersetshire, That to throw a Bowle on the Lords day, was as great a sinne, as to kill a man. Thirdly, in Norfolk, That to make a Feast, or dresse a Wedding Dinner on the Lords day, was as great a sinne, as for a Father to take a knife, and cut his childes throat. Fourthly, in Suffolke, That to ring more Bells than one, on the Lords day, was as great a sinne, as to commit murther. I adde what once I heard

heard my selfe, at *Sergeants Inne* in *Fleet-street*, about five yeeres since, That *temporall death* was at this day to be inflicted, by the *Law of God*, on the *Sabbath-breaker*; on him, who on the *Lords day* did the workes of his *dayly calling*: With a grave application, unto my *Masters of the Law*, That if they did their ordinarie workes on the *Sabbath day*, in *taking Fees* and *giving Counsell*, they should consider what they did deserve by the *Law of God*. And certainly, these and the like *conclusions* cannot but follow very closely, on the former *Principles*. For, if the *fourth Commandement* be plainly *Morall*, obliging us as straitly as it did the *Jewes*; and that the *Lords day* be to be observed, according to the *prescript* of that *Commandement*: it must needs be, that every wilfull breach thereof, is of no lower nature, than *Idolatry*, or *blaspheming* of the *Name of God*, or any other deadly sinne against the first Table; and therefore, questionlesse, as great as *Murther*, or *Adulterie*, or any sinne against the second. But to goe forwards where I leit: my Author whom before I spake of, being present when the *Suffolke Minister* was convented, for his so lewd and impious Doctrine, was the occasion that those *Sabbatarian Errours and Impieties* were first brought to light, and to the knowledge of the State. On which discoverie, as he tells us, this good ensued, That the said *Bookes of the Sabbath* were called in, and forbidden to be printed and made common. Archbishop *Whitguise*, by his Letters and Visitations, did the one, Anno 1599. And Sir *John Popham*, Lord Chiefe Justice, did the other, Anno 1600. at *Burie* in *Suffolke*. Good remedies indeed, had they beene soone enough applyed: yet not so good as those, which formerly were applyed to *Thacker*, and his fellow, in the aforesaid Towne of *Burie*, for publishing the *Bookes of Browne*, against the *Service of the Church*. Nor was this all the fruit of so bad a Doctrine. For, by inculcating to the people these new *Sabbath speculations*, teaching, That that day onely was of Gods appointment; and all the rest

rest observed in the Church of *England* a remnant of the will-worship in the Church of *Rome*: the other *holy dayes* in this Church established, were so shrewdly shaken, that till this day they are not well recovered of the blow then given. Nor came this on the by, or besides their purpose; but as a thing that specially was intended, from the first beginning; from the first time that ever these *Sabbath Doctrines* peeped into the light. For Doctor *Bound*, the first sworne servant of the *Sabbath*, hath in his first edition thus declared himselfe; That hee sees not where the Lord P. 31. bath given any authoritie to his Church, ordinarily and perpetually to sanctifie any day, except that which hee hath sanctified himselfe: "and makes it an especiall argument "against the goodnesse of the Religion in the Church of "Rome, that to the seventh day they have joyned so many P. 32. "other dayes, and made them equall with the seventh, if "not superiour thereunto, as well in the solemnitie of Divine Offices, as restraint from labour. So that wee may perceive by this, that their intent from the beginning, was to cry downe the *holy dayes*, as superstitious, *Papish* Ordinances: that so their new-found *Sabbath* being placed alone, (and *Sabbath* now it must be called) might become more eminent. Nor were the other, though more private effects thereof, of lesse dangerous nature: the people being so insnared with these new devices; and pressed with rigours more than *Jewish*; that certainly they are in as bad condition, as were the *Israelites* of old, when they were captivated and kept under by the *Scribes* and *Pharises*. Some I have knowne, (for in this point I will say nothing, without good assurance) who in a furious kinde of zeale, like the mad *Prophetesse* in the Poet, have runne into the open streetes, yea, and searched private houses too, to looke for such as spent those houres, on the *Lords day*, in lawfull Pastimes, which were not destinate by the Church, to Gods publike service: and having found them out, scattered the Companie, brake the Instruments: and

and, if my memorie faile me not, the Musicians head too: and, which is more, they thought that they were bound in Conscience so to doe. Others, that will not suffer either Baked or Rost to be made readie for their Dinners, on their *Sabbath day*, lest by so doing, they should *eate and drinke their owne damnation*; according to the Doctrine preached unto them. Some, that upon the *Sabbath*, will not sell a Pint of Wine, or the like Commoditie: though Wine was made by God, not onely for mans *often infirmities*, but to make glad his heart, and refresh his spirits; and therefore no lesse requisite on the *Lords day*, than on any other. Others, which have refused to carry Provender to an Horse, on the supposed *Sabbath day*; though our Redeemer thought it no impietie on the true *Sabbath day* indeed, to lead poore Cattell to the water: Which was the motive, and occasion, of *M. Brerewoods* learned Treatise. So, for the Female Sex; Maid-servants I have met with, some two or three, who though they were content to dresse their Meat upon the *Sabbath*; yet by no meanes would be perswaded, either to wash their Dishes, or make cleane their Kitchin. But that which most of all affects me, is, That a Gentlewoman, at whose house I lay in *Leicester*, the last Northerne Progress, *Anno 1634.* expressed a great desire to see the King and Queene, who were then both there. And when I proffer'd her my service, to satisfie that loyall longing, shee thanked me, but refused the favour, *because it was the Sabbath day.* Unto so strange a bondage are the people brought, that, as before I said, a greater never was imposed on the *Jewes* themselves, what time the Consciences of that people were pinned most closely on the sleeves of the *Scribes* and *Pharises*.

(9) But to goe forwards in my Storie: it came to passe, for all the care before remembered, that having such a plausible and faire pretence, as sanctifying a *day* unto the Lord, and keeping a *Commandement* that had long been silenced;

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it got strong footing in the Kingdome, as before is said: the rather, because many things, which were indeed strong avocations from Gods publike service, were as then permitted. Therefore it pleased King *James*, in the first entrance of his Reigne, so farre to condescend unto them, as to take off such things which seemed most offensive. To which intent, he signified his Royall pleasure, by Proclamation, dated at *Theobalds, May 7. 1603.* That whereas he had bene informed, that there had bene in former times a great neglect in keeping the *Sabbath day*; for better observing of the same, and for abolishing of all impious prophanation of it, he straitly charged and commanded, That no Beare-baiting, Bull-baiting, Enterludes, common Playes, or other like disordered or unlawfull Exercises, or Pastimes, be frequented, kept, or used at any time hereafter, upon any *Sabbath day*. Nor, that his purpose was, to debarre himselfe of lawfull Pleasures on that day; but to prohibit such disordered and unlawfull Pastimes, whereby the Common people were withdrawne from the Congregation: they being onely to be reckoned for Common Playes, which at the instant of their Acting, or representing, are studyed onely for the entertainment of the Common people, on the publike Theatres. Yet did not this, though much, content them. And therefore in the Conference at *Hampton Court*, it seemed good to *D. Reynolds* (who had bene made a partie in the cause) to touch upon the prophanation of the *Sabbath*, (for so he called it) and contempt of his Majesties Proclamation, made for the reforming of that abuse; of which he earnestly desired a straiter course, for reformation thereof: to which he found (as the Compiler of it tells us) a generall and unanimous assent. Nor was there an assent onely, and nothing done. For presently in the following Convocation, it pleased the Prelates there assembled, to revive so much of the Queens Injunction, before remembered, as to them seemed fitting; and to incorporate it into the Canons then agreed of; only a little

CAN. 13.

a little alteration, to make it more agreeable to the present times, being used therein. Thus then they ordered in the *Canon*, for due celebration of *Sundays*, and *holy dayes*, viz. All manner of persons within the Church of England, shall from henceforth celebrate and keepe the Lords day, commonly called Sunday, and other holy dayes, according to Gods holy will and pleasure, and the Orders of the Church of England, prescribed in that behalfe, i.e. in hearing the Word of God read and taught, in private and publike Prayers, in acknowledging their offences to God, and amendment of the same, in reconciling themselves charitably to their Neighbours, where displeasure had bene, in oftentimes receiving the Communion of the Body and Blood of Christ, using all godly and sober conversation. The residue of the said *Injunction*, touching worke in Harvest, it seemed fit unto them not to touch upon; leaving the same to stand, or fall, by the Statute of King Edward the sixt, before remembred. A *Canon* of an excellent composition. For, by enjoyning godly and sober conversation, and diligent repaire to Church, to heare the Word of God, and receive the Sacrament; they stopped the course of that prophanenesse, which formerly had bene complained of. And by their ranking of the *holy dayes* in equall place, and height, with *Sunday*, and limitting the celebration of the same, unto the Orders in that case prescribed by the Church of England; shewed plainly their dislike of those *Sabbath Doctrines*, which had bene lately set on foot; to the dishonour of the Church, and diminution of her *Authoritie*, in destinating other dayes to the service of God, than their new *Saint Sabbath*. Yet did not this, the Churches care, either so satisfie their desires, or restraints the follies of those men, who had embraced the new *Sabbath Doctrines*; but that they still went forwards to advance that businesse, which was now made a part of the common Cause: no Booke being published by that partie, either by way of Catechisme, or Comment on the

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ten Commandements, or Morall Pietie, or systematicall Divinitie, of all which, these last times have produced too many; wherein the *Sabbath* was not pressed upon the Consciences of Gods people, with as much violence, as formerly with authoritie upon the *Jewes*. And hereunto they were encouraged a great deale the rather; because in *Ireland*, what time his Majesties Commissioners were employed, about the setting of that Church, Anno 1615. there passed an *Article*, which much confirmed them in their Courses; and hath bene often since alleaged, to justifie both them and their proceedings. The *Article* is this: *The first day of the weeke, which is the Lords day, is wholly to be dedicated to the service of God; and therefore wee are bound therein to rest from our common and daily businesse, and to bestow that leysure upon holy exercises, both private, and publike.* What moved his Majesties Commissioners to this strict austeritie, that I cannot say: but sure I am, that till that time, the *Lords day* never had attained such credit, as to be thought an *Article* Of the Faith, though of some mens fancies. Nor was it like to be of long continuance, it was so violently followed; the whole Booke being now called in, and in the place thereof, the *Articles of the Church of England* confirmed by Parliament, in that Kingdome, Anno 1634.

(10) Nor was this all the fruit neither of such dangerous Doctrines, That the *Lords day* was growne into the reparation of the *Jewish Sabbath*: but some that built on their foundations, and ploughed with no other than their Heifers, endeavoured to bring backe againe the *Jewish Sabbath*, as that which is expressly mentioned in the fourth Commandement; and abrogate the *Lords day* for altogether; as having no foundation in it, nor warrant by it. Of these, one *Thrauke* declared himselfe, for such, in King James his time; and therewithall tooke up another *Jewish* Doctrine, about Meates and Drinkes: as, in the

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time

time of our dread Sovereigne now being, *Theophilus Braborne*, grounding himselfe on the so much applauded Doctrine of the moralists of the Sabbath; maintained; that the Jewish Sabbath ought to be observed; and wrote a large Booke in defence thereof, which came into the World 1632. For which their Jewish Doctrines, the first having received his Censure in the *Starre-Chamber*, Anno 1618. was set on the Pillorie at *Westminster*, from thence whipt to the *Fleet*, and there put in Prison; and about three yeeres after, writ a Recantation of all his former Heresies, and Schismaticall Opinions. The other was proceeded with, in the *High-Commission*; and hath since altered his Opinion, which he renounced in the open Court; being misguided onely by the Principles of some noted men, to which hee thought hee might have trusted. Of these, I have here spoke together, because the ground of their Opinions, so farre as it concerned the Sabbath, were the very same; they onely making the conclusions, which of necessity must follow from the former premisses: just as the *Brownists* did before, when they abominated the Communion of the Church of England, on the Puritan Principles. But to proceed. This of it selfe had beene sufficient, to bring all to ruine; but this was not all. Not onely *Judaisme* did begin, but *Poperie* tooke great occasion of increase, "by the precisenesse of some Magistrates and Ministers in severall places of this Kingdome, in hindring people from their Recreations on the Sunday: the Papists in this Realme, being thereby perswaded, that no honest mirth or recreation was tolerable in our Religion. Which being noted by King James, in his progresse through Lancashire; it pleased his Majestie to set out his Declaration, May 24. Anno 1618. the Court being then at *Greenwich*, to this effect, "That for his good peoples lawfull recreations, his pleasure was, that after the end of Divine Service, they should not be disturbed, letted, or discouraged, from any lawfull recreations; such as Dancing, either men

King James
Declaration.

"men or women, Archery for men, Leaping, Vaulting, or any other such harmelesse recreations: nor from having of May-games, Whitson-Aes, or Morrice-dances, and setting up of May-poles, or other sports therewith used; so as the same be had in due and convenient time, without impediment or let of Divine Service: and that women should have leave to carry Rushes to the Church, for the decoring of it, according to their old custome: withall prohibiting all unlawfull Games to be used on the Sundayes onely, as Beare-baiting, Bull-baiting, Enterludes; and at all times, in the meaner sort of people, by Law prohibited, Bowling. A Declaration which occasioned much noyse and clamour; and many scandalls spread abroad; as if these Councils had been put into that Princes head, by some great Prelates, which were then of most power about him. But in that point they might have satisfied themselves, that this was no Court-doctrine; no new-*Divinitie*, which that learned Prince had beene taught in England. He had declared himselfe before, when hee was King of the Scots onely, to the selfe-same purpose: as may appeare in his *Basilicon Doron*, published, Anno 1598. This was the first Blow in effect, which had been given, in all his time, to the new *Lords-day-Sabbath*, then so much applauded.

(11) For howsoever, as I said, those who had entertained these *Sabbatarian* Principles, spared neither care nor paines to advance the businesse; by being instant in season, and out of season, by publike Writings, private Preachings, and clandestine insinuations, or whatsoever other meanes might tend to the promotion of this *Catholic-like cause*: yet find we none that did oppose it, in a publike way, though there were many that disliked it. Onely one M. Loe, of the Church of *Exeter*, declared himselfe, in his *Effigatio veri Sabbatismi*, Anno 1606. to be of different judgement from them; and did lay downe indeed the truest and most justifiable Doctrine of the Sabbath,

of any Writer in that time. But being written in the *Latine* Tongue, it came not to the peoples hands : many of those which understood it, never meaning to let the people know the Contents thereof. And whereas, in the yeere 1603. at the Commencement held in Cambridge, this *Thesis*, or Proposition, *Dies Dominicus nititur Verbo Dei*, was publickly maintained by a Doctor there, and by the then *Vice-Chancellour* so determined ; neither the following Doctors there, or any in the other Universitie, that I can heare of, did ever put up any *Antithesis*, in opposition thereunto. At last, some foure yeeres after his Majesties Declaration, before remembred, Anno 1622. Doctor *Prideaux*, his Majesties Professour for the Universitie of *Oxon.* did, in the publicke Act, declare his judgement in this point, *de Sabbato* ; which, afterwards, in the yeere 1625. hee published to the World, with his other Lectures. Now, in this *Speech*, or *Determination*, hee did thus resolve it. First, That the *Sabbath* was not instituted in the first Creation of the World ; nor ever kept by any of the ancient Patriarkes, who lived before the *Law* of *Moses* : therefore, no *Morall* and perpetuall Precept, as the others are, *Seck. 2.* Secondly, That the sanctifying of one day in seven, is *Ceremoniall* onely, and obliged the *Jewes* ; not *Morall*, to oblige us *Christians* to the like observance, *Seck. 3. & 4.* Thirdly, That the *Lords day* is founded onely on the *Authoritie* of the *Church*, guided therein by the practice of the *Apostles* : Not on the *fourth Commandement*, which, in the seventh *Section*, hee entitleth a *Scandalous Doctrine* ; nor any other *Authoritie*, in holy *Scripture*, *Seck. 6. & 7.* Fourthly, That the *Church* hath still *Authoritie* to change the day ; though such *Authoritie* be not fit to be put in practice, *Seck. 7.* Fifthly, That in the celebration of it, there is no such cessation from the workes of labour, required of us, as was exacted of the *Jewes* : but that wee lawfully may dresse Meate, proportionable

nable unto every mans estate ; and doe such other things, as be no hinderance to the publicke Service, appointed for the day, *Seck. 8.* Sixtly, That on the *Lords day* all *Recreations whatsoever* are to be allowed, which honestly may refresh the spirits, and encrease mutuall love and neighbourhood amongst us : and, that the Names wherby the *Jewes* did use to call their *Festivals* (whereof the *Sabbath* was the chiefe) were borrowed from an *Hebrew* word, which signifies to *Dance*, and to *make merry*, or *rejoyce*. And lastly, that it appertaines to the *Christian Magistrate*, to order and appoint, what *Pastimes*, on the *Lords day*, are to be permitted, and what prohibited : not unto every private person, much lesse to every mans rash Zeale, as his owne words are, *who out of a schismaticall Stoicisme*, (debarring men from lawfull Pastimes) doth encline to *Judaisme*, *Seck. 8.* This was the summe and substance of his resolution, then : which, as it gave content unto the sounder and the better part of the Assembly ; so it did infinitely stomacke and displease the greater numbers, such as were formerly possessed with the other Doctrines ; though they were wiser, than to make it a publicke Quarrell. Onely it pleased M. *Bifeild* of *Surrey*, in his Reply to a Discourse of M. *Brerewoods*, of *Gresham Colledge*, Anno 1631. to taxe the Doctor, as a spreader of wicked Doctrine ; and much to marvel with himselfe, how either he durst be so bold to say ; or having said it, could be suffered to put it forth : viz. That to establish the *Lords day* on the fourth Commandement, were to encline too much to *Judaisme* : This, the said M. *Bifeild* thinkes to be a foule aspersion on this famous Church. But in so thinking, I conceive, that he consulted more his owne opinion, and his private interest, than any publicke maintenance of the Churches cause ; which was not injured by the Doctor, but defended rather. But to proceed, or rather, to goe backe a little. About a yeere before the Doctor thus declared his judgement, one *Thom. Broad*, of *Gloucestershire*, had published

something in this kinde : wherein, to speake my minde thereof, he rather shewed, that he disliked those *Sabbath Doctrines*, than durst disprove them. And before either, M. *Brerewood*, whom before I named, had writ a learned Treatise about the *Sabbath*, on a particular occasion therein mentioned ; but published it was not, till after both, Anno 1629. Adde here, to joine them all together, that in the Schooles at *Oxon*, Anno 1628. it was maintained by Doctor *Robinson*, now Archdeacon of *Gloucester*; viz. *Ludos Recreationis gratia, in die Dominico, non esse prohibitos, Divina Lege*: That Recreations on the *Lords day*, were not at all prohibited by the Word of God. And so it hath beene since defended, in the Publike *Act* there, with the consent and approbation of the *Universitie*, Anno 1634. *Sanctificationi diei Dominicæ non repugnare, quæ sunt corporis recreandi causa*; That honest Recreations did not derogate from the due sanctifying of the *Lords day*: The Respondent being M. *Tho. Lotkey*, one of the Students of *Christ-Church*.

(12) As for our neighbour Church of *Scotland*: as they proceeded not at first, with that mature deliberation, in the reforming of that Church, which had beene here observed with us; so did they runne upon a Course of Reformation, which after was thought fitting to be reformed. The Queene was young, and absent, in the Court of *France*; the *Regent* was a desolate Widow, a Stranger to that Nation, and not well obeyed. So, that the people there, possessed by *Cnox*, and other of their Teachers, tooke the Cause in hand; and went that way, which came most neere unto *Geneva*, where this *Cnox* had lived. Among the first things wherewithall they were offended, were the *Holy dayes*. These, in their Booke of *Discipline*, Anno 1560. they condemned at once; particularly, the observation of *Holy dayes*, entituled by the names of Saints; the Feasts of *Christmas*, *Circumcision*, *Epiphany*, the *Purification*, and others of the Virgin *Mary*: all which they

Proceedings at
Perth,

they ranked amongst the abominations of the Roman Religion, as having neither Commandement, nor assurance, in the Word of God. But having brought this Booke to be subsigned by the Lords of *secret Counsaile*, it was first rejected: some of them giving it the Title of *Devote Imaginations*, whereof *Cnox* complains. Yet notwithstanding, *Cnox*, Hist. of
on they went, and at last prevailed, (for in the middle of *Scott.* p. 523.
the Tumults, the Queene *Regent* died:) and did not onely put downe all the *Holy dayes*, the *Lords day* excepted; but when an uprore had beene made in *Edenburgh*, about a *Robin-Hood*, or a *Whitson-Lord*, they of the Consistorie excommunicated the whole multitude. Now, that the *Holy* Proceedings at
dayes were put downe, may appeare by this; That in the *Perth.*
yeere 1566. when the Confession of the *Helvetian Churches* was proposed unto them, they generally approved the same; save that they liked not of those *Holy dayes*, which were there retained. But whatsoever they intended, and howsoever they had utterly suppressed those dayes, which were entituled by the names of particular Saints; yet they could never so prevaile, but that the people would retaine some memorie, of the two great and principall Feasts of Christs *Nativitie*, and *Resurrection*. For, in the yeere 1575. Complaint was made unto the *Regent*; how in *Dunfreis* they had conveyed the Reader to the Church, with *Taber* and *Whiffell*, to reade *Prayers* all the *Holy dayes* of *Zule*, or *Christmas*. Thereupon, Anno 1577. it was ordained in an Assemblie of the Church: " That the *Visitors* " should admonish Ministers, preaching or ministring the " Communion, at *Pasche*, or *Zule*, or other like superstitious times, under paine of deprivation, to desist therefrom. Anno 1587. it was complained of to his Majestie, That *Pasche*, and *Zule*, were superstitiously observed in *Fife*, and about *Dunfreis*: and in the yeere 1592. the *Act* of the Queene *Regent*, granting licence to keepe the said two Feasts, was by them repealed. Yet find we by the Bishop of *Brechin*, in his discourse of the Proceedings at the

Synod of *Perth*, " That notwithstanding all the Acts
 " Civill, and Ecclesiasticke, made against the superstitious
 " observation and prophane abuse of *Zule day*, the people
 " could never be induced to labour on that day: And
 " wheresoever *Divine Service* was done that day, as in
 " Townes which have alwayes *Morning* and *Evening*
 " *Prayers*, they were perceived to resort in greater num-
 " bers on that day, than on any other, to the Church. As
 for King *James*, of happie memorie, hee did not onely
 keepe the said great *Festivals* from his youth, as there is
 said; but wished them to be kept by all his subjects, yet
 without abuse: And in his *Basilicon Doron*, published
 Anno 1598. thus declares himselfe; That, without super-
 stition, Playes and lawfull Games may be used in *May*, and
 good Cheere at *Christmas*. Now, on the other side, as they
 had quite put downe those dayes, which had beene dedica-
 ted by the Church, to religious meetings; so they appoin-
 ted others, of their owne authoritie. For, in their Booke
 of *Discipline*, before remembred, it was thus decreed, viz.
 " That in every notable Towne, a day, besides the *Sunday*,
 " should be appointed, weekly, for *Sermons*: that, during
 " the time of Sermon, the day should be kept free from all
 " exercise of labour, as well by the Master, as by the Ser-
 " vant: as also, that every day [in the said great Townes]
 " there be either *Sermon*, or *Prayers*, with *Reading* of the
 " *Scriptures*. So that, it seemeth, they onely were afraid of
 the name of *Holy dayes*, and were contented well enough
 with the thing it selfe. As for the *Lords day*, in that King-
 dome, I finde not that it had attained unto the name or
 nature of a *Sabbath day*; untill that Doctrine had beene
 set on foot amongst us in *England*. For, in the Booke of
Discipline, set out, as formerly was said, Anno 1560. they
 call it by no other name than *Sunday*; ordaining, That upon
 foure *Sundays* in the yeere, which are therein specified, the
 Sacrament of the Lords Supper should be administred to
 the people: and in the yeere 1592. an Act of King *James* the
 third,

third, about the *Saturday*, and other Vigils to be kept ho-
 ly from *Even-song* to *Even-song*, was annulled and abroga-
 ted: Which plainly shewes that then they thought not of
 a *Sabbath*. But when the *Sabbath doctrine* had been raised
 in *England*, Anno 1595. as before was said, it found a pre-
 sent entertainment with the *Brethren* there; who had be-
 fore professed in their publike writings to our *Puritans* *Davidson* p. 204.
 here, that both their causes were most neerely linked together,
 and thereupon, they both tooke up the name of *Sabbath*,
 and imposed the rigour. Yet so, that they esteeme it law-
 full, to hold fasts thereon, *Quod sapissime in Ecclesia 20- Altare Damasci*
stra Scoticana factum est; and use it often in that Church; p. 669.
 which is quite contrary unto the nature of a *Sabbath*. And
 on the other side, they deny it, to be the weekly festivall of
 the *Resurrection*, *Non sunt dies Dominici festa Resurrectio-*
nis, as they have resolved it; which shewes as plainly that
 they build not the translation of their *Sabbath* on the same
 grounds, as our men have done. In briebe by making up a
 mixture of a *Lords day Sabbath* they neither keepe it as the
Lords day, nor as the *Sabbath*. And in this state things stood
 untill the yeere 1618. what time some of the ancient *holy*
dayes were revived againe, in the Assemblie held at *Perth*:
 in which, among some other rites of the Church of *England*
 which were then admitted, it was thus determined, viz.
 " As wee abhorre the superstitious observation of festivall
 " dayes by the *Papists*; and detest all licentious and pro-
 " phane abuse thereof; by the Common sort of *Professours*:
 " so we thinke that the inestimable benefits received from
 " God, by our Lord *Iesus Christ* his Birth, *Passion*, *Resur-*
 " *rection*, *Ascension*, and sending downe of the *Holy Ghost*,
 " was commendably and godly remembred at certaine
 " particular dayes and times by the whole Church of the
 " world. and may bee also now. Therefore the *Assembly*
 " ordaines, that every Minister shall upon these dayes,
 " have the Commemoration of the foresaid inestimable
 " benefits, and make choise of severall and pertinent Texts

“ of Scripture and frame their Doctrine and Exhortation
 “ thereunto, and rebuke all superstitious observation, and
 “ licentious prophanation thereof. A thing which much
 displeased some men, of contrary perswasion: first, out of
 feare, that this was but a Preamble, to make way for all the
 other *holy dayes* observed in *England*: And secondly, be-
 cause it seemed, that these five dayes were in all points to
 bee observed as the *Lords day* was, both in the times of
 the Assemblie, and after the dissolving of the same. But
 pleased, or displeased, so it was decreed; and so still it
 stands. As for the *Sunday* it selfe, however in the greater
 Townes they doe observe it very precisely, according as
 our men would have it: yet in the Villages and smaller
 places of the Countrie, they keepe it not with that solem-
 nitie, as the Common people doe with us. For in many
 of those Villages and the like places, they have not onely
 no publike meetings at the Church in the afternoone; but
 spend the whole time either in their businesses or their
 pleasures, as occasion is: whereof I have beene well as-
 sured by sundry natives of that Kingdome, of good faith and
 credit.

(12) But to returne againe to *England*. It pleased his
 Majestie now reigning (whom God long preserve) upon
 information of many notable misdemeanours on this day
 committed; in his first Parliament, to enact, *That from
 thence-fo2wards there should be no Meetings, Assemblies,
 o2 concourse of people, out of their Parishes, on the
 Lords day, for any Sports o2 Pastimes whatsoever;
 nor any Beare-baitings, Bull-baitings, Common Playes,
 Enterludes, o2 any other unlawfull Exercises o2 Pastimes,
 used by any person o2 persons, in their owne Parishes:
 every offence to be punished by the forfeiture of 3. s. 4. d.*
 This being a *Probation Law*, was to continue till the end
 of the first Session of the next Parliament: And in the
 next Parliament, it was continued till the end of the first
 Session of the next, which was then to come. So also was
 ano-

1 Carol. 1.

another Act made, in the said last Session, wherein it was
 enacted, *That no Carrier, Waggoner, Waine-man, Carre-
 man, o2 Drover, travaile thence-fo2wards on the Lords
 day, on paine, that every person and persons so offending,
 shall lose and forfeit 20. s. for every such offence: And
 that no Butcher, either by himselfe, o2 any other by his pri-
 vittle and consent, doe kill o2 sell any Viçhuall on the said
 day; upon the forfeiture and losse of 6. s. 8. d.* Which Sta-
 tutes being still in force, by reason that there hath not been
 any Session of Parliament, since they were enacted; many,
 both Magistrates and Ministers, either not rightly under-
 standing, or wilfully mistaking the intent and meaning of
 the first; brought *Dancing*, and some other *lawfull recrea-
 tions*, under the compasse of *unlawfull Pastimes*, in that
 Act prohibited: and thereupon disturbed and punished
 many of the Kings obedient people, onely for using of
 such sports, as had bin authorized by his Majesties Father,
 of blessed memory. Nay, which is more, it was so pub-
 likely avowed, and printed, by one who had no calling to
 interpret Lawes, except the provocation of his owne ill
 spirit; *That Dancing on the Lords day, was an unlawfull
 Pastime, punishable by the Statute 1. Carol. 1. which intended
 (so he saith) to suppress Dancing on the Lords day, as well
 as Beare-baiting, Bull-baiting, Enterludes, and Common
 Playes, which were not then so rise and common, as Dancing,
 when this Law was made.* Things being at this height, it
 pleased his excellent Majestie, “ Observing; as hee saith King Charles
 “ himselfe, how much his people were debarred of *Recre-
 ation*, and finding in some Counties, that under the pre-
 “ tence of taking away abuses, there had beene a generall
 “ forbidding, not onely of ordinary Meetings, but of the
 “ Feasts of the *Dedication of Churches*, commonly called
 “ *Wakes*; to ratifie and publish the Declaration of his
 “ Majesties Father, before remembered: adding, *That all
 “ those Feasts, with others, should be observed; and that
 “ all Neighbourhood and freedome, with manlike and law-
 “ full*

3. Carol. 1.

Declarat.

“ full

"full Exercises, bee therein used. Commanding all the
 "Iustices of Assise, in the severall Circuits, to see that
 "no man doe trouble or molest any of his loyall and duti-
 "full people, in or for their lawfull Recreations, having
 "first done their duty to God, and continuing in obedi-
 "ence unto his Majesty, and his Lawes: and further, that
 "publication thereof be made by order from the Bishops,
 "through all the Parishes of their severall Diocesses, re-
 "spectively. Thus did it please his excellent and sacred
 "Majestie to publish his most pious and religious purpose, of
 "opening to his loyall people that liberty of the day, which
 "the Day allowed of; and which all Christian States and
 "Churches, in all times before had never questioned: with-
 "all, of shutting up that doore, whereat no lesse than Juda-
 "isme would in fine have entred, and so in time have over-
 "ran the fairest and most beautifull Church, at this day in
 "Christendome. And certainly, it was a pious and Princely
 "Act, nothing inferiour unto that of *Constantine*, or any
 "other Christian King, or Emperour, before remembered: it
 "being no lesse pious, in it selfe considered, to keepe the
 "holy-dayes free from superstition, than to preserve them from
 "prophanenesse; especially considering, that permission of law-
 "full pleasures, is no lesse proper to a Festivall, than restraine
 "from labour. Nay, of the two, it is more ancient. For in
 "his time, *Tertullian* tels us, that they did *diem solis letitie*
 "*indulgere*, devote the Sunday partly unto Mirth and Re-
 "creation, not to Devotion altogether; when in an hundred
 "yeeres after *Tertullians* time; there was no Law or Con-
 "stitution to restraine men from labour on this day, in the
 "Christian Church.

(14) Yet did not his most excellent Majestie find such
 "obedience in some men, and such as should have been ex-
 "amples unto their flockes; as his most Christian purpose did
 "deserve: there being some, so settled in the opinion of a
 "Sabbath day, a day not heard of in the Church of Christ 40.
 "yeeres agoe, that they chose rather to deprive the Church
 "of

of their paines, and ministrie, than yeeld unto his Maje-
 "sties most just Commands. For whose sakes specially, next
 "to my dutie unto God, my Sovereigne, and the Church my
 "Mother, I have employed my time and studies, to compole
 "this History: that they may see therein, in briebe, the pra-
 "ctice of Gods Church in the times before them, and frame
 "themselves to doe thereafter; casting aside those errors in
 "the which they are, and walking in the way which they
 "ought to travell. Which way, when all is done, will be *via*
 "*Regia*, the Kings high way; as that which is most safe, and
 "of best assurance, because most travelled by Gods people.
 "Our private pathes doe lead us often into errour and some-
 "times also into danger. And therefore I beseech all those
 "who have offended in that kinde, to lay aside their passions,
 "and their private interests, if any are that way misguided;
 "as also not to shut their eyes against those truths which
 "are presented to them, for their information: that so the
 "King may have the honor of their due obedience; the Church
 "the comfort of their labours, and conformable Ministry. For
 "to what purpose should they hope, to be embolded for their
 "sufferings, in so bad a cause, which neither hath the Do-
 "ctrine of the Scripture, to authorize it; or practice of the
 "Church of God, the best Expositor of the Scripture, to con-
 "firme and countenance it? or to bee counted constant to
 "their first Conclusions, having such weake and dangerous
 "premisses to support the same; since *constancie* not rightly
 "grounded, is at best but *obstinacie*, and many times doth end
 "in heresie. Once againe therefore I exhort them, even in
 "Gods Name, whose Ministers they are, and unto whom
 "they are to give up an account of their employment; and in
 "the Kings Name, whom as Gods Deputy they are bound
 "to obey, not for wrath only, but for conscience sake; and in
 "the Churches name, whose peace they are to studie above
 "all things else; and their owne names lastly, whom it most
 "concernes, that they desist, and goe not forwards in this
 "disobedience, lest a worse mischance fall upon them. For my

part, I have done my best, so farre to give them satisfaction in the present point, (so farre forth as the nature of an History would permit;) as they might thinke it no disparagement, to alter their opinions, and desert their errors, and change their resolutions: since in so doing, they shall conform themselves unto the practice of Gods Church, in all times and Ages. The greatest victory, which a man can get, is to subdue himselfe, and triumph over sinne, and error. I end, as I began, in S. *Augustins* language. *Quibus hoc nimum, vel quibus parum est, mihi ignorent; quibus satis est, non mihi, sed Domino mecum congratulantes, gratias agant.* Let such as shall conceive this Treatise, to be too little, or too much, excuse my weaknesse: And as for these, whom it may satisfie in the smallest measure, let them not unto me, but to God, with me, ascribe all the honour; to whom belongs all praise, and glory, even for evermore.

De Civit. Dei. l.
22. c. 3c.

Pibrac. Quadr. 5.

*Ne va disant, ma main a fait cest œuvre,
Ou ma vertu ce bel œuvre a parfait:
Mais dis ainsi, Dieu par moy l'œuvre a fait,
Dieu est l'Auteur, du peu de bien que j'œuvre.*

Say not, my hand this Worke to end hath brought,
Nor, this my vertue hath attain'd unto:
Say rather thus; this God by me hath wrought;
God's Author of the little good I doe.

FINIS.

ERRATA.

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